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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW

THIRD SERIES.—No. XLVI.

APRIL, 1890.

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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1890.

ART. I.—“JESUITS AND SECULARS IN THE REIGN
OF ELIZABETH.”

A *Historical Sketch of the Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Elizabeth*; with a Reprint of Christopher Bagshaw's "True Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbich," and Illustrative Documents. By THOMAS GRAVES LAW, Librarian, Signet Library. London: D. Nutt. 1889.

THE way in which Catholics met the Reformation in England under Henry VIII. does not furnish us with a very cheering retrospect. A few names stand out gloriously. Our martyrs are as grand martyrs as can be found anywhere. They resisted unto blood, and there was a generosity and a splendour in the outpouring of their blood that fills us with admiration and gratitude. While our eyes are fixed upon our noble band of martyrs we are happy and proud; but when we look away from these miracles of the grace of God, our feeling is *Quid hæc sunt inter tantos?* How few they are who were constant and faithful to the bitter end! "Were there not ten, and where are the nine?" Nay, the proportion of their ingratitude was higher than that of the lepers who were cleansed. If one in ten of the bishops, if one in ten of the beneficed clergy, if one in ten of the religious, if one in ten of the nobles, if one in ten of the gentlemen and yeomen of England, had been what Fisher and More and the Carthusians and the Franciscans were, Henry's hand would have been stayed, and the Pope would not have had to reconcile a kingdom on Mary's accession.

When Elizabeth resumed her father's work, and proceeded systematically to Protestantise the country, the Catholics were in a somewhat different state from that in which they had been

when under Henry the thunderbolt had fallen on them from the blue. The bishops set a very different example. Those who had yielded in Henry's time, as well as the new bishops appointed under Mary, were all faithful, with one only exception. But the clergy throughout the country did not tread in their bishops' footsteps. If the priests had dared to resist, the result would have been very different. Elizabeth could not have sent them all to prison, or have emptied all the parishes in England. But men who in a quarter of a century had been Catholics, then professors of Henry VIII.'s religion, whatever that is to be called, then Protestants with Edward's first Prayer-book, then Protestants with his second Prayer-book, then Catholics under Mary, were not likely on Elizabeth's accession to give up their livings and brave her anger. "Some nine thousand parish priests," says Mr. Law, in the book before us, "were content, [with good or bad consciences, to read the Book of Common Prayer, and to preserve their livings." Sander, in his work "*De Monarchia Visibili*," makes out the best list that was in his power of confessors of the Faith, and amongst the higher clergy the number of those who were imprisoned or exiled is very respectable. He gives the names of ten deans of English cathedrals, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and forty-seven canons of cathedrals who had either died in prison, or were in custody or banishment, when he wrote in 1571. But when he comes to the clergy who were deprived of their benefices because they would not accept Elizabeth's religion, he can count up but ninety-one, which is out of all proportion with the dignitaries who were displaced. It is true, as he says, that it was much more difficult to ascertain the names of the lower than of the higher clergy. Besides these, almost all of whom were in exile, there may have been, and there will have been, many more of Queen Mary's priests who did not bow the knee to Baal, but wandered about looking for private houses in which they could say Mass when the churches were closed against them. Not less than three hundred students, Sander estimates, were driven from the universities in the first twelve years of Elizabeth's reign, and he further gives the names of three professors, nine doctors of theology, eight doctors of civil and canon law, seven doctors of medicine, eleven licentiates in theology, eight schoolmasters, and three choirmasters who stood steadily by the Pope and suffered persecution accordingly. Then he names an earl, two barons, and nine knights, in prison or in exile, fifteen gentlemen in prison, and forty-two, many of them with their families, living abroad; and he gives a list of fourteen ladies who specially suffered for their religion. No one would dream of thinking that this roll of confessors was complete, even up to its date. There were many

more afterwards, like Francis Tregian, who spent twenty-eight years in prison, and again the glorious confessors of York Castle, the London Marshalsea, and many another prison, who well merited the reference made to them by Cornelius a Lapide in his Commentary as verifying the grand words of St. Paul, for they "received with joy the plundering of their goods" (Heb. x. 34). But still, heroic though they were, their number was small for all England. If it had not been so, Elizabeth and her Ministers could not have done what they did, and England would not have fallen such an easy prey. These seem to be the facts, and there is no use in denying them, whether the conclusion drawn from them is honourable or dishonourable. We take the honour that our martyrs and confessors bring us, and we must also take the shame of the general apathy, and cowardice, and worldliness, or whatever else brought about the acquiescence of the country in Elizabeth's ecclesiastical proceedings.

This, like the apostasy under Henry, is a sad sight; that cannot be denied. One hundred and eighty-nine is Strype's estimate of the clergy who were deprived on account of their religion, out of a total of 9400. Speaking roughly, forty-nine out of fifty priests in England let Elizabeth dis sever them once more from the Holy See. Five years and a-half of reaction under Mary had made little difference, except, indeed, in the character of the bishops; and the clergy who had submitted to the regalism of Henry and the Protestantism of Edward reverted to them, with interior abhorrence we may presume, but with exterior assent and conformity.

Can any excuse be found for them? The answer to this question, currently given, is that they expected that this new order of things would pass away, as it had passed away before. But this surely cannot be regarded as an excuse. To yield as each one yielded, and to retain the loaves and fishes in the hope that the time would come when the iniquitous condition on which alone they could be retained would be removed, was to serve mammon and not God. The comfort of holding their livings could never justify an act of schism or an act of heresy; and even the certainty, if such certainty had been possible, that they would be free to return to the profession of the true Faith in six months or twelve would not have affected the hypocrisy and wickedness of the part they were playing. Thus it was that England lost the Faith. Priests retained their livings on such terms as these, and conducted the new-fangled services in the churches in which they had been accustomed to say Mass. The laity went to those churches and frequented those services because of the frightful pressure that was brought to bear upon them by the persecuting laws. As in all cases of yielding to temptation, the first step

taken, it was less and less difficult to continue. That which in the beginning they hated, they came by degrees to regard with indifference. The children were brought up in this state of things, and had known no other; and, with glorious and heroic exceptions, the old priests, the old families, and the mass of the people forgot the ancient Faith, and learnt at last to hate the bugbear that a false tradition presented to them in her stead.

It is not, then, an excuse to say that priests and people went to church in obedience to Elizabeth's laws, and hoped for better times. That is but a statement of the harm done, and all one can say of it is that it might have been worse. The apprentice that robs his master's till, hoping and intending to replace the money, has not the same malice as the man who takes it with no other thought but that of keeping it. The priests and people of England were, to a very large extent, guilty of schism and of co-operation with heresy on Elizabeth's accession; and the act with which they committed this sin contained within it the most serious danger to their own faith, as well as the certainty of the perversion of their children from the Catholic religion. Thus England became Protestant. Mr. Law very truly says that, "When the Jesuit Fathers Parsons and Campion entered England in the summer of 1580, Elizabeth was completing the twenty-second year of her reign. The young men at the universities could remember nothing of the days of Queen Mary and the Mass. For the first half of those twenty-two years the history of the Roman Catholic Church in England is a blank." But when he goes on to say, "Never had a Church so completely gone down before the first blow of opposition," he forgets what had gone before. As certainly as it is true that *Nemo repente fit turpissimus*, so also it is true that a nation could not abandon in a moment the religion it had professed for centuries. England did not do so. The reigns of Henry and Edward had gone before, and it is attributing too much to Mary to suppose that things were really set right in her reign. The restoration of England to the Catholic Church by royal authority contained in it much of the evil principle that the people must take their religion from the Sovereign, and it was that false principle that set all things wrong under Henry and his two Protestant children. Religion and faith had been undermined. Worldliness was in possession, and ecclesiastics had learned to look to the King, as the dispenser of Church goods, rather than to the Pope, as the centre of Catholic unity. The precedent had been set in Henry's days, and the possibility shown of a Catholic restoration. The *premier pas qui coûte* had been taken under Henry, and, though Mary had succeeded in installing a worthier and less worldly set of men among the

higher clergy, the large body of priests with the mass of the laity repeated under Elizabeth what they had done under Henry and Edward.

The proportions of Catholics and Protestants had altered enormously by the time that Elizabeth was half through her long reign. Catholics were still numerous, and in one or two counties very numerous; but they were more timid, for the utter failure of the Northern rising and the death of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, had shown them their helplessness. By the year 1580 there was not a shadow of a hope that the Queen would change her policy respecting religion. If she did not call herself "Supreme Head upon earth of the Church of England," as her father had done, it was because there was something ridiculous in such a title as applied to a woman, and she could claim the same powers under another form of words. The Oath of her Supremacy said that "the Queen's Highness is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm and of all other her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual within this realm." Take that oath, repair to your parish church every Sunday or holiday, and believe what you like. Such was the spirit with which her reign began, and the cowardice of the multitude made the resistance of the few extremely hazardous. The sole question for Elizabeth's Ministers on her accession was whether the mass of clergy and people would submit to these terms. That settled in their favour, they had the future religion of the people in their hands. In Japan the Catholic religion was exterminated by the very simple and most efficacious process of commanding all persons without exception under pain of death to wear a little idol visibly and publicly, as a mark that they were not Christians. Many wore it who were Christians at heart, hoping for better times, and thus Catholicity was stamped out of Japan. Hardly less efficacious was the English method. Among the penalties of the 1st of Elizabeth, cap. 1, was that any person maintaining the jurisdiction of any foreign prelate within these realms should, for the first offence, forfeit all his goods and chattels, for the second be subject to *premunire*, and on the third be held guilty of high treason. "The hearing Mass has been adjudged to be 'maintaining' under this statute, and the person hearing it indictable thereupon."* "If a man hears Mass but once in his lifetime

* "The Penal Laws against Papists and Popish Recusants, 1723," pp. 6 and 8.

upon a second refusal of this oath, he shall be adjudged guilty of high treason." The 5th of Elizabeth, cap. 1, made this law more stringent, for to refuse the oath of the royal supremacy when tendered a second time was made high treason; and none were compellable to take the oath on a second tender, save clergymen, such as do not conform and observe the rites of Divine Service, such as deprave the same, or use to hear Mass. It is as well to see what the laws against Catholics were all through the reign of Elizabeth, as apparently an impression prevails in some quarters that all severity in Elizabeth's legislation dates either from the coming of two Jesuits into England in her twenty-third year, or at least from her excommunication by St. Pius V. in the twelfth year of her reign.

Change and relaxation were not to be expected, and what were the Catholics to look to? Is it much to be wondered at that many turned to Mary's husband Philip for help and a remedy? The strong man armed was holding the land in thralldom, and they hoped that a stronger than he would come and take away the arms in which he trusted. They were wrong, as we can see now who are wise after the event; but what else was there for them to turn to? The Pope had excommunicated Elizabeth, but it was practically a *brutum fulmen*, as it might be expected to be when the excommunication of her father Henry had fallen without temporal effect. But the Pope could not help it. He could not have done less. It was of prime necessity that the Catholics in England should see that Elizabeth and her new religion were unmistakably wrong, and nothing short of some strong measure like this could have shown them that they were in duty bound to choose between God and mammon. The Pope did what was possible to mitigate for the Catholics of England the difficulty that the Bull of deposition created for them. Its operation was suspended as far as they were concerned, and they were to continue to treat Elizabeth as their Queen. But beyond a doubt nothing would have pleased the Pope better than that she should be driven from the throne of England, and for this he could only look to Spain. Is it wonderful that the Catholics of England, or very many of them, looked there too?

It is no argument to writers like Dr. Jessopp and Mr. Law to say that the Catholics in such aspirations were in harmony with the desires of the Pope, and of such a Pope as St. Pius V., but it is an argument to Catholics of our time. I do not mean that it is a proof that they were right. I only mean that we can surely understand that it was natural in them, and to be expected. In other words, the Catholics of that day cared more for England's religion and her spiritual good than they did for her independence and her temporal greatness. In the principle they were

necessarily right, but in the application of it I, for one, think them wrong. I cannot believe that a Spanish conquest of England would have brought about the end they sought for. Englishmen would have hated the foreign conqueror, and, if the Armada had been successful, waverers would have been determined against the Church rather than for her, and the Catholic religion would have been identified with a foreign tyranny. The plan would, in all human probability, have been an utter failure as to the end that the Pope and the English Catholics had in view, if Philip had become King of England by right of conquest. But they did not see this, and they saw no other remedy.

As far back as 1533 no less a man than Blessed John Fisher had felt as they felt. To his mind there was one only remedy possible for the evils that Henry VIII. was introducing into England, and that was an armed invasion by the Emperor's troops. "As the good Bishop of Rochester says, who has sent to me to notify it," so wrote Chapuys the ambassador to Charles V., "the arms of the Pope [*i.e.*, spiritual censures] against these men, who are so obstinate, are more frail than lead, and your Majesty must set your hand to it, in which you will do a work as agreeable to God as going against the Turk." And again, a fortnight later, he wrote: "For the love the Queen bears her husband, she dares not speak of any other remedy but law and justice; but the good and holy Bishop [of Rochester] would like you to take active measures immediately, as I wrote in my last; which advice he has sent to me again lately to repeat. The most part of the English, as far as I can learn, are of his opinion, and only fear that your Majesty will not listen to it."* But this last consideration could be urged with far greater truth in Henry's time than in Elizabeth's, and thus Blessed John Fisher's conduct in provoking a foreign invasion is not a full justification for those who desired the same remedy when the sympathisers in the country would have been comparatively few. But it is a precedent on the point that would most strike Englishmen. Fisher preferred his country's religion to her temporal greatness; and if in Elizabeth's time there were Catholics who did the same, they did not see, as we do, that the chance was gone by, that the sympathy of the people was lost, and that the success of the Armada would have done more harm than good to religion.

Blessed John Fisher might take that position, and forward it by such active measures as repeated application to the Emperor's ambassador; but I confess that I am sorry that Father Robert Persons should have done something like it in working hard in the Spanish interest. Cardinal Allen might do it, and he did

* "Life of Blessed John Fisher," by Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R., p. 229.

it. I cannot sympathise with all that he did. He wrote a book in defence of the treacherous act of Sir William Stanley, who delivered up to Elizabeth's enemies the city of Deventer, of which he had been made Governor by Elizabeth. *Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis*. But Cardinal Allen was free to hold political action and external force to be as lawful a means of bringing England back to the Church as persuasion and patience under persecution. He had a right to his opinion. "A Sovereign who, like Elizabeth, made the exercise of the Catholic religion in England impossible, thereby lost all claim to the obedience of her subjects, and they might justly depose her by themselves, or with the help of foreign princes. I do not see," says Fr. Knox,* "what answer can be given to such a defence of Allen on modern principles, except to deny that the Catholic Faith is a treasure the loss of which would justify rebellion." And he then proceeds to show that it was for the persons then concerned, not the modern bystander, to determine the nature and degree of the oppression which warrants revolt. And he further shows, at considerable length, that, considering the times in which Allen lived, his justification is much stronger than this application of a modern principle of the lawfulness of rebellion, the great example of which in the dethronement of James II. is well worked out by Fr. Bridgett.† Those who are unable to see how it could ever have been lawful to promote a foreign invasion, in order to set aside an illegitimate possessor of the throne, should look to see what was done in 1688 to dethrone a rightful king and to crown the Prince of Orange in his stead. Once more; I am not speaking of expediency, but of lawfulness—lawfulness in the sense of right according to the laws of God; and all I maintain is that in Elizabeth's time Catholics were as much entitled to form their own judgment on the matter, as Protestants were in the days of James II. The one revolution was successful, and therefore is to be called "happy and glorious," while the other failed, and is therefore detestable.

Treason never prospers, what's the reason?

When it prospers, none dare call it treason.

Allen might forward the Spanish invasion, and welcome; but, for my part, I cannot help feeling, as a Jesuit, the sincerest regret that Father Persons should have taken an active part in the same. In the instructions that were given to Father Robert Persons and Blessed Edmund Campion when they came on the English mission, they were explicitly told that "they must not

* "The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen," with an Historical Introduction by T. F. Knox, D.D., priest of the Oratory, p. xxiv.

† "Life of Fisher," p. 230.

mix themselves up with affairs of State, nor write hither [that is, to Rome] news concerning the State, nor in England must they either speak or allow others to speak in their presence against the Queen, except, perhaps, in the company of those whose fidelity has been long and steadfastly proved, and even then not without strong reasons."* These instructions were intended to be strictly secret, and they were kept secret. They were meant to be obeyed, and Father Persons at first, and Blessed Edmund Campion to the end of his short career, obeyed them. It would have been good for religion if Father Persons had continued to obey them and his superiors to enforce them. But for a time he was busily engaged in Spain, acting in the very teeth of them.

At the end of the year 1593 the Fifth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus passed a decree which entirely prohibited all conduct like that of Father Persons in his dealings with the Spanish Court. It must be remembered that in the Society the General Congregation is, under the Pope and the Sacred Congregations of Cardinals, supreme. The General himself is subject to it, and whatever sanction Father Persons may have previously had from Father Claude Acquaviva, such sanction henceforward became impossible. I have not heard it said that, subsequently to this very positive and definite legislation on the part of the Society, Father Persons in any way contravened it. His defence of the Archpriest before the Roman Congregations is entirely free from all liability to any such charge, and we may assume that Father Persons completely and loyally conformed himself to that which then explicitly became, and still continues to be, a strict law of the Society that he dearly loved, and that certainly loved and still loves him. The Decree in question has been seldom quoted, but, though it is long, its great importance justifies the insertion of a translation of it in this place.

As our Society, which has been raised up by our Lord for the propagation of the Faith and the gaining of souls, can, under the banner of the Cross, happily attain to the end it aims at, with usefulness to the Church, and the edification of our neighbour by the ministries proper to the Institute, which are spiritual arms; so it would hinder these good things and expose her to the greatest dangers, if she were to handle those things that are secular, and belong to politics and State government. Therefore, it was most wisely ordained by our predecessors, that we, whose warfare is for God, should not engage ourselves in other things which are repugnant to our profession. But since in these very dangerous times, in several places, and with various Sovereigns (the cherishing of whose love and charity our holy Father Ignatius held to belong to the service of God) by the fault

* Law, "Dissensions," p. xiii.

perchance, or ambition, or indiscreet zeal of some, our Order has been ill-spoken of, whilst to bring forth fruit the good odour of Christ is necessary; the Congregation held that everything having an appearance of evil must be avoided, and that complaints must be met, as far as possible, even when they arise from false suspicions. Wherefore by the present Decree it gravely and severely forbids all of Ours to mix themselves in any way in public affairs of this kind, even though they be invited or enticed, nor by any prayers or persuasions may they be turned away from the Institute.—(Cong. v., Decr. 47.)

The Decree ends by requiring that by efficacious remedies a cure be found for this disease, as far as it may be needed; and the means adopted by the same General Congregation in its Seventy-ninth Decree was the unusual measure of a command to observe the Forty-seventh Decree, under precept of holy obedience (which binds under mortal sin), and the penalty of incapacity for all offices and dignities, and privation of all rights in elections, either as electors or as eligible. And to this was added a serious recommendation to Superiors not to permit any Jesuit to be mixed up in such affairs, and, if they should see any to have a propensity to them, the Provincial was at once to be informed, and he was to remove such persons from the place, in order that all occasion and danger of such interference might be avoided.

Even this is not all. Pope Paul V., in the year 1606, issued a Bull, beginning with the words *Quantum Religio Societatis*, in which, besides an approbation of the Constitutions of Gregory XIII. and Gregory XIV. in favour of the Society, he incorporates *verbatim* three Decrees that the Society had passed in its Fifth General Congregation. The first of these related to disturbers of the common peace of the Society, and the last of them to the indefinite duration of office of local Superiors. These two things the Society had greatly at heart, and the Pope's specific approbation of both these Decrees will have been earnestly petitioned for and gratefully accepted. Dovetailed in between them in the Pope's Bull is the Forty-seventh Decree *in extenso*, and it would be difficult to conceive any more cogent proof of the desire of the Society that the decree in question should be observed invariably and universally, than that she should have asked and obtained for it the specific confirmation of the Pope some thirteen years after it was passed by the Congregation. This has had the effect of placing it on a higher level than any Decree of a General Congregation, even though that Decree was issued under precept of holy obedience, which is the most that the Society herself could do. By this specific confirmation, together with the other points on which her heart was set, she has obtained for it the authority of the Holy See and the full force of Pontifical law; so that it was no longer in her power to repeal her own

Decree, if ever she should desire to do so. I do not see how any Religious Order could possibly express her mind more strongly or make her ruling more imperative. From the terms employed, and from the solemnity of the legislation, we are fully justified in concluding that any Father who should have promoted the invasion of England by Spain may certainly have acted in good faith, and may even have had the sanction of his Superiors prior to such legislation, but most certainly was not acting in accordance with the spirit of the Institute or with the mind of the Society.

As we have already said, there is no accusation against Father Persons of having acted in disobedience to this Decree. But there is another accusation against him, respecting which also it may be said that he acted in good faith, but in a way that we must most sincerely deplore. It is to be profoundly regretted that Father Persons should have allowed himself to make such terrible accusation against the personal character of his opponents. Taking it for granted that he was honest in calling God to witness that he had no enmity to gratify, no intention to injure, and that his sole reason was the public good; remembering that the times were sadly foul-mouthed, and that his opponents did not spare him, but hit as hard as it was in their power to hit; still, considering all that can be alleged in excuse, the language used by him is, if I may be allowed to judge so great a man, absolutely indefensible. It seems to me to have been impolitic likewise. If a counsel has on his brief, "Abuse plaintiff's attorney," we at once conclude that he has "no case." It was by no means true that Father Persons had "no case," but the force of what he had to say in defence of his case is, to our eyes, sadly injured by his abuse of the side opposed to him. "The habitual recklessness," says Mr. Law, "with which Parsons, either secretly to the Pope or publicly in his writings, blackens the character of any individual who stands in his way must make his denunciations more than suspected. He probably believed all the reports brought to him of the immoralities of men so widely respected as Colleton, Bishop, and Mush with as much sincerity as these or their associates believed that Parsons himself was the promoter of assassination, or that Father Walpole had designed to poison the Queen's saddle" (p. lvi.). The term "habitual recklessness" is a portion of the adverse judgment which everywhere Father Persons meets at Mr. Law's hands—far in excess of justice, as it seems to me. But on this point of hard uncharitable language I, for one, cannot be the defender of Father Persons, and indeed I look upon it with the deepest regret and concern. If I were called on to say how it was, in my opinion, that the glorious self-devotion of seculars and regulars was almost thrown away, and how it came that to

so large an extent the blood of the martyrs was shed in vain, I should feel in conscience bound to answer that I think it due to the awful dissensions that prevailed between seculars and regulars, and, in some instances, between the regulars of different Orders. God's blessing could not rest on the work of men amongst whom such animosity was found. One hundred and forty-four secular priests shed their blood on the scaffold in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors, and I know not where to look for a country the secular clergy of which have so noble a death-roll; the regulars of various Religious Orders poured forth their best blood to swell the sacred stream, but persecution prevailed, and the Catholic Church was nearly stamped out. By quarrelling amongst themselves, the Catholic priests were doing the work of their opponents, and it is not to be wondered at that Anglican Bishops should have fostered the division, as far as was in their power, and that appellants against the Archpriest should have been specially banished by the Privy Council, to enable them to carry on their appeal. "The case standeth thus," wrote Bluet to Mush on July 1, 1601, "I have, by opening the cause unto their honours [the Lords of the Privy Council] and to Cæsar [Queen Elizabeth], obtained that four principal men shall be banished after a sort to follow the appeal, Dr. Bagshaw, Bluet, Champney, and Barneby, all prisoners. They shall be here with me on Wednesday next. A month they shall have within the realm of liberty to ride abroad for money amongst their friends, and then choose their port to be gone with countenance."* It is not very pleasant to see that, in spite of a Decree of the Inquisition and the Brief of the Pope, on the whole favourable to them, which strictly forbade such dealings with the English Government, Dr. Bishop wrote from Paris to Bancroft, then Bishop of London, "reporting the progress of the appeal, and asking leave for some of his party to go to the Bishop safely for the settling of better correspondence."† As soon as the controversy between the seculars and regulars was over, and matters were decided by the Pope, Elizabeth sent forth the last manifesto of her long reign against Catholics, cynically treating it as insolence to insinuate that she had "some purpose to grant a toleration of two religions within her realm," and, turning upon those secular priests who offered to be the first to discover to her all traitorous designs of the Jesuits and the Spanish party, she tells them that, "'masking themselves under the vizard of pretended conscience,' they withdraw her subjects from obedience to her laws, and 'knit them to her mortal enemy the Pope, increasing thereby his numbers, and diminishing hers.' God

* Law, p. xcvi.

† *Ibid.* p. cxx. note.

knows the Queen's innocency of any such imagination! Their conceit of such a toleration and intolerable presumption has come to such a pass that 'they dare adventure to walk in the streets at noondays, to resort to prisons publicly, and execute their functions in contempt of her laws.'"^{*} Let them forthwith depart out of her realm, the Jesuits and the secular priests who are combined with them by the 1st of January, and "the other sort of secular priests" by the 1st of February next ensuing. If the seculars thought that any good was to come to them, or any liberty of conscience, by their recourse to "Cæsar," this was Cæsar's answer. On the 25th of March 1603 Elizabeth died.

If there is one thing plain, rather than another, respecting these dissensions, it is that "an enemy hath done this." The devil is the author of discord, as God is the lover and the giver of peace. Nothing can sadden the heart of a thoughtful Catholic more than these records of uncharitable bickerings, jealousies, quarrels, and revilings. Mr. Law has no regard for either side, though his chiefest dislike is for Father Persons, whom he calls "the arch-conspirator." The appellants receive from him their share of blame, with an impartiality that is intended to show that he is not on their side either. Well, it is better so. Sad enough it is, God knows; so that this book makes one's heart ache for more than simply its record of an odious feud; but better so, perhaps, as the work of one who is not a Catholic, than a book like Canon Tierney's, which revives the ancient partisanship amongst Catholics, that in God's name should be left to sleep itself out to death and oblivion. The Jesuits also, if one may say so who loves the Society dearly but has no commission to speak in her name, must not, as was the fashion in Father Plowden's time, praise all that was done by every Jesuit in those days when Jesuits and seculars were at daggers drawn, though they held their lives in their hands. At this distance of time, and after this happy lull in the controversy, we can afford to look at the whole dispute with greater impartiality, and not feel it necessary to say that all that was done on one side was right, and all that was done on the other was wrong. Mistakes were committed on both sides, and good intentions may be recognised on both. Cardinal Arrizoni said that "both sides were *terribles*." It surely need be so no longer; and the seculars and regulars in the nineteenth century may serve God and do the work of the Church in peace and concord, taught by the sad experience of the past, in which discord was injurious to a multitude of souls, and the enemies of the truth found too much cause to rejoice.

JOHN MORRIS, S.J.

^{*} Law, p. cxxi.

ART. II.—RECENT WORKS ON PRIMITIVE BUDDHISM.

CHAPTER II. (*continued.*)*

TOWARDS the middle of the sixth century before Christ, in the country and of the tribe of the Sakyas, surnamed the Gotamas, was born of noble parents, Siddārtha, later on called Buddha, "The Enlightened, The All-Knowing."

His father was called Suddhodana; a wide-spread tradition has made him king of the Sakyas, but the ancient texts say nothing about it.

His mother, Māyā, who also belonged to the tribe of the Sakyas, died seven days after the birth of the child. But the sister of Māyā, who was called Mahāprajāpati, another wife of Suddhodana, gave him all a mother's care.

Siddārtha passed the years of his childhood at Kapilavasthu, the principal city of the country. He had a step-brother and a step-sister, children of Mahāprajāpati. In this country, which was very little subject to the Brahmans, the education of the youth must have been more warlike than scholastic. It was customary, at that time, for the children of the rich to pass successively the winter, the summer, and the wet season in three different palaces, which were arranged so as to suit the requirements of these different seasons, and we learn from tradition that Buddha passed his youth in these poetical surroundings.

We also learn that the future Liberator was married, but we do not know if he had one or many wives. There was born to him a son Rāhula, who later became one of his spiritual community. We have all the more reason to accept these details as authentic, as they are mentioned only as accessories and do not serve any end, either didactic or pathetic. And further, if one considers how much chastity was honoured by the Buddhists, one must confess that the makers of legends would have had much more reason to hide them than to invent them, if they had not been real.

We are quite ignorant as to the manner in which Buddha was brought to leave the delights of his princely life. One cannot be mistaken in admitting here the action of the general

* The preceding portion of this paper appeared in the DUBLIN REVIEW, January, 1888, page 121. The first of the Authors there cited for consideration, and here largely quoted from, is Oldenberg; see his "Der Buddha, sein Leben und seine Gemeinde," and his Vedic translations in the "Sacred Books of the East" (Oxford).

causes already given. It is said that a period of seven years passed between the time of his renouncing the world and that of his acquiring the certitude that he had become Buddha, the liberated and the Liberator of the gods and of men. During this period he followed successively the teachings of two spiritual directors, who sought for salvation by means of profound exercises of meditation, of intellectual absorptions in passive contemplation. Being little satisfied with the results he obtained, he went over to the country of the Magadha (near the town of Uruvelā). There, in company of five ascetics, he gave himself up to the most terrific austerities, but without arriving any nearer to the object of his desires. He therefore abandoned this way of living, and cheered himself with abundant food. His companions, much scandalized at this, left him. In the meantime, however, the solemn moment was arriving. One night while seated under a tree, which has since been called the Tree of Intelligence, he passed through a state of unconsciousness, more and more pure, until the sentiment of his omniscient enlightenment discovered itself. He believed that he penetrated, by an irresistible intuition, into the wanderings of those spirits engaged in the turmoil of transmigration; he himself seized upon the knowledge of the sources from which all the suffering of the world proceeds, and of the way which leads to its destruction.

It is this moment which is looked upon by the Buddhists as the grand turning-point in the life of their founder, and in the history of the world, of men and of gods. It is the Holy Night—the Christmas of the Far East.

Must these records of the sacred texts be regarded as historical? Oldenberg believes that one cannot give a certain answer to this question. The nature of the sources, he says, do not allow one to affirm either their historical or their mythical character. They mix the true with the fabulous, and this latter absolutely predominates in the recital of the first events which follow.

He shows further that all this tradition might easily have been formed, even if Buddha had never experienced or believed he experienced anything of the kind. But, he continues, that is no proof that this narration is only an invented fable; proofs are not wanting in a contrary sense. This sudden change which the interior life of Buddha underwent differs in no point from that which has often taken place at all times with men of like character. The sacred texts show us, besides, that at the time they were written there was generally a belief in the sudden illumination in the mind of a liberator, accomplished in an instantaneous manner. We have therefore not the slightest reason to doubt that it may have been the same in

the time of Buddha himself. But then it would have been but natural that the Master would have made known to his disciples the vicissitudes through which he had passed before arriving at the salvation that all were working to obtain; undoubtedly these souvenirs may have acquired a dogmatic character later on, but they did not lose their historical character for all that. In this sense, one may believe that this account contains some real facts. "History," concludes Professor Oldenberg, "cannot create certitudes where she only finds possibilities. Let each one decide or not as he thinks fit; but let me be allowed to express my conviction in this sense that the account, or the tradition, which shows us the scion of the Sakyas becoming Buddha, really contains historical reminiscences."

The beginning of the teaching career of Buddha forms the subject of a passage which possesses all the characters of great antiquity. It is a well-attested fact that, in the midst of vague and confused souvenirs of a long and uniform period, it is exactly those which refer to the *début*, to the earliest days of a new existence, that preserve themselves longest in the memory. Professor Oldenberg relates, after the *Mahāvagga*, the combats that Buddha had to sustain before he resolved to announce the doctrine of faith, and the first conversions that he wrought. It would be useless to recapitulate here these episodes which have been recounted elsewhere, and which do not seem in any manner to characterize the author's method. The Pāli sources do not follow their biography of the founder any further. For the period of more than forty years which, they say, passed until his death, the tradition contents itself with relating discourses, sentences, and dialogues without any chronological sequence. These accounts enable us, however, to reunite these wide-spread traits, and to form of them the picture as a whole, representing the teaching and the life of Buddha, his relations with great and small, with his band of disciples, and in general with his followers and with his adversaries.

Can we [asks Professor Oldenberg] look upon this picture as being consonant to historical truth? And the answer is: "Yes and No." No—because, if it shows us the type of the ancient Buddhist world, on the other hand, it does not show us the individual traits of Buddha himself. . . . But it is just this objective side of our knowledge which gives us the right to have confidence in it. India, in truth, is a country of types and not of individuals, having each their own stamp.

Thus it is with the personages of the epoch, and we must believe that this same law governed the new-born Buddhism. The principal disciples who surround Buddha entirely resemble each

other, and each one is the facsimile, the reduced copy of the Master. For the rest, the time which passed between this and the formation of the traditions was anything but rich with minds which might have given to the movement an entirely new direction.

This circumstance is for us a kind of guarantee, inasmuch as this movement, such as it is described, does not essentially differ from that which Buddha and his first disciples created. The former may have really possessed several transcendent qualities which mediocre natures may have lowered to their own level; but it is impossible that a figure like his could have been misunderstood in its fundamental features.

If, therefore, the traditional portrait presents only a small number of authentic details, in the sense of historical exactitude, from another side, however, and taking it as a whole, we have the right to look upon it as true in a higher sense.

The author exerts himself, moreover, to reconstitute this picture of the public life of Buddha under the various titles of "Daily Life," "The Disciples of Buddha," "His Women," "The Adversaries of Buddha," "His Manner of Teaching." These are so many little tableaux, traced by a master-hand; they possess all the attractions of a work of fiction, although all the materials are borrowed from the Pāli sources. Let us try to recapitulate some of the most essential points.

1. *Daily Life*.—The year of Buddha and of his disciples, like that of all communities of monks, was divided into a season of retreat and a season of journeying; this division rested also upon the nature of the climate. The torrents of rain which commence to descend in the month of June compel all the Hindus to shut themselves up in their houses, or at least in their own villages. During this time the Buddhist monks established themselves in the neighbourhoods of the towns or villages, where they were certain to find some resources in the generosity of the faithful. Thus it was that each year Buddha himself observed the rainy season, surrounded by numerous disciples who flocked round his person. During the good season, on the contrary, he travelled from one place to another, always followed by a few, and sometimes by a large number, of his disciples. They thus travelled over the regions of the East, stopping above all in the environs of Sāvattthi and of Rājagaha, in which places the community possessed vast domains. All round him monks and laics crowded in great numbers, kings and men of the people, brāhmanas and sophists, all wishing to be instructed in the doctrine of salvation, or at least to hear the celebrated ascetic disputing. Very often they came to him from afar off; to arrive where he was they traversed whole kingdoms. The scenes of this kind

which the texts retrace for us are very varied ; there is no doubt, however, that they faithfully represent to us the movement which was constantly going on round the person of the Master. The discussions often ended by an invitation to dinner from the adversaries or the admirers of the Master. On other days, faithful to the monastic custom, he goes begging from door to door, after having passed the first hours of the day in meditation and other ascetic exercises. After the repast, he retires to seek a rude repose, necessitated by the overwhelming heat of the country, until, when at night, he re-enters the agitations of public life.

2. *The Disciples.*—To all appearance the circle of disciples was, even in the earliest days, by no means a free society bound together by merely internal cords, something like the band of Jesus' disciples. We can scarcely doubt that it was from the beginning much more of a community of ascetics, organized according to fixed rules, a formal monastic order with Buddha at its head. The forms and external technique of a religious life of this class had been already established in India long before the age of Buddha, a monastic order appeared then to the religious consciousness to be a reasonable, natural form, in which alone the life of those who associated in a common struggle for release could find expression. As there was nothing in Buddha's attitude generally which could be regarded by his contemporaries as unusual, he had not to introduce anything fundamentally new ; on the contrary, it would have been an innovation if he had undertaken to preach a way of salvation which did not proceed in a basis of monastic observance.

The standing formula with which Buddha is supposed to have received the first believers into his circle has been preserved to us : "Come hither, O monk ; well preached is the doctrine ; walk in purity, to make an end of all suffering." We know not whether this tradition rests on any authentic memory, but the thought which here finds expression seems quite correct, that the circle of Buddha's disciples was from the very beginning a monastic brotherhood, into which the postulant had to be admitted by an appointed step, with the utterance of a prescribed formula.

The yellow garment and tonsure of the monk are the visible tokens of separation from the world and worldly life ; the severance of the family bond, the renunciations of all property, rigorous chastity, are the self-evident obligations of the "ascetics who adhere to the son of the Sakya house" (*Samana Sakyaputtiya*), the oldest term with which the people designated the members of the young Church.

We know not how far the forms of that corporate life, of which we shall give a fuller description later on, severally extend back to Buddha's own time, of which we are now speaking. It is possible, those half-monthly confessional gatherings, to which so great significance is attached in the simple cult of ancient Buddhism, may have been observed by Buddha himself, with the disciples who were with him.—(Oldenberg, pp. 152-4.)

The distinction of caste did not exist in the community of Buddha. Whoever wished to become his disciple renounced his caste; the monastic habit rendered equal servant and master, Brahman and Sudra.

We must not allow ourselves, however, to look upon Buddha as a social reformer. He never dreamt of creating reforms in the Government, nor revolutions in Society. Caste does not exist for the wise man who has separated himself from all earthly things, but it does not even enter his mind to try to abolish it or to soften its rigid rules among those who are engaged in the life of the world.

For the rest, there already existed before Buddha religious communities who received members of all castes, men as well as women. For a long time among the Brahmins, with whom no priesthood was hereditary, there had been formed a second category of religious men, composed of people of all castes who had said good-bye to the life of the world; this was the class of the Samanas—that is to say, the ascetics.

This fact is recognized in the Buddhist traditions as indisputable, as something of which there is no recollection that it had ever been otherwise. There is no need of overrating the value of those traditions to find in them a guarantee that Buddha did not deem it necessary to undertake a struggle against the leaders of Society and thought, in behalf of the spiritual rights of the poor and the humble: and least of all is it possible that in such a struggle lay the essential character of his life.—(p. 156.)

And more than this. Undoubtedly the Buddhist theory recognized in all, without distinction of caste, the right to be admitted into the community. But to judge by the birth of the persons who surrounded the founder, the practice does not seem to have been much in conformity with the theory. In the celebrated discourse of Benares, the tradition makes Buddha speak of "the sons of noble families who leave their homes." In effect, in the surroundings of the founder we often come across young Brahmins, such as Sāriputta, nobles like Ananda, also the sons of great merchants or of high functionaries. It was also generally the same with the ascetics who left other sects to embrace the doctrine of the Master. "I do not know," says Oldenberg, "of one Candala—the pariah of those days—being mentioned in the sacred texts as a member of the Order." The Buddhist theories, however, were quite incomprehensible to simple folk. "This teaching," it is said, "belongs to intelligent men, not to imbeciles." "What a difference," exclaims the learned author, "to the word of Him who made little children come to Him, *for of such is the*

kingdom of Heaven!" The arms of Buddha are opened neither to children nor to those who are like to them.

Of the several personages in the narrower circle of disciples, we cannot expect to have a life-like individual portrait. Here, as everywhere else in the literature of ancient India, we always meet merely with types, not individualities. We have already touched on this peculiarity: each of the chief disciples resembles every other, so that one might be taken for the other, the same conglomerate of perfect purity, perfect internal peace, perfect devotion to Buddha. These are not real individuals, but the incarnate *esprit de corps* of the pupils of Buddha.—(p. 158.)

Let us mention here the names of Sāriputta and of Moggallāna, of Ananda, Devadatta and Rāhula: the facts relating to them are sufficiently well known. Side by side with the monks and the religious, or rather with the male mendicants (Bhikkhu) and the female mendicants (Bhikkhuni), appear from the commencement, the simple male adherents (upāsaka, *cultor*) and female adherents (upāsikā). These, while believing in the word of Buddha, still retain their goods and their social position, and render great service to the community by their gifts and foundations. Still they are not a part of it and cannot attain to salvation, to the supreme Nirvāṇa.

Efforts have been made to present this fact as a concession slowly made to human nature. It is nothing of the sort. The most ancient traditions already speak of laics who profess to honour Buddha and his community. The nature of the things themselves confirm these accounts. As soon as there arose mendicant monks in India, there necessarily were found some pious laymen to give them alms. This fact alone necessarily established a more or less intimate union between the ones and the others. This union was based upon reciprocal wants. The ones were in search of spiritual instruction, the others expected that the means for their frugal existence should be provided for them. One must not seek for more intimate relations between the members of the Buddhist community and their lay adherents.

It is principally the rich and influential that we find in this latter category. Buddhism has never occupied itself with the poor and the miserable, whose sufferings have a more sensible character than those of "the perishable existence which is the common lot of all." We will mention here the kings, Bimbisāra of Magadha; Pasenadi of Kosala; Jivaka, the physician; Anāthapindika, the rich merchant. But wherever he went, Buddha always met with a number of persons who abundantly supplied his wants and those of the numerous disciples who followed him.

3. *Women*.—At the time in which Buddha lived women were not kept isolated and in the seclusion in which they are now. There therefore must have been, and indeed there were, frequent communications between the nascent community and persons of the female sex.

Professor Oldenberg asks if, on one side, Buddha was able to understand the nature of woman, on the other, if the theories of such a merciless logic were suited to finding an access to their souls? Without directly answering these questions, he, first of all, declares that, for Buddha, woman contained in herself all the illusive forces which the enemy of man makes use of to enchain their senses. The ancient texts are full of accounts and considerations relating to the incorrigible spirit of intrigue in women. "How must we conduct ourselves with regard to women?" asks Ananda. "You must avoid seeing them," answers the Master. "And if we are forced to see them, Lord, what must we then do?" "You must not speak to them, O Ananda." "And if we are obliged to speak to them, Lord, what then?" "Then you must keep watch over yourself, O Ananda." The traditions are not wrong, perhaps, when they tell us that for a long time, Buddha received only men into his community, and that it was only owing to the solicitations of Mahāprajāpati, his second mother, that he admitted women as disciples. "If," he says to Ananda, "women had not been admitted into the Community, the doctrine would have existed pure during a thousand years. Now the holy life will not preserve itself for long; the doctrine of truth will not exist for more than five centuries."

At the same time the female mendicants are constantly represented in the sacred texts as kept at a distance from the Master. The rules drawn up for them by Buddha were first of all promulgated before the male mendicants, who then communicated them to the women. Even these rules themselves show them to be in a subordinate position to the men; they are generally treated as an element just tolerated, and that with regret.

This way of acting, however, did not prevent the women of India from showing great devotion to the Community, which manifested itself by incessant gifts and personal services. The type of the female adherent entirely devoted to Buddha and to his disciples, is Visākhā, upon whom the Master himself pronounced a commendation by promising to her that—"delivered from all suffering, she would enjoy, full of happiness, the reward of her well-doing in the abode of happiness."

4. *Buddha's Adversaries*.—If we would believe the Buddhist texts, the career of the Master must have been nothing but one long triumphal march. "Wherever he arrived, crowds collected round him; other masters were abandoned whenever he raised

his lion-like voice in any assembly." Those who heard him gave themselves up to him.

The facts are naturally a little different, and it is still possible sometimes to find the reality. It has been a mistake to represent Buddhism as a reform of Brahmanism; it is believed that it is possible to find something analogous between those old times and the ardent combat between Protestantism and the Papacy. This is an error. In the eastern provinces where Buddha founded his religion the Brahmanic hierarchy was not organized. The representatives of the faith of the Vedas were nothing more than one of the religious parties between whom the country was divided: it may also be added that they did not form one of the most powerful ones. Individually, they did not enjoy either privileges or any particular respect. In the eyes of the people, a Samana was worth quite as much as a Brahman. As for the Vedas and the sacrifices prescribed by them, they were unknown to the people, who willingly left them in the learned hands of the antiquaries. It mattered little if sometimes the local influence of some Brahman placed obstacles in his way; a hundred others became his disciples or ranged themselves among his adherents.

Buddha is not sparing in his irony for Brahmanic science and sacrifices. "The word of the Brahmins is like a chain of blind people: such is my idea. He who finds himself in the front sees nothing; he who is placed in the centre sees nothing; and he who finds himself in the rear sees nothing. What is it then? Is it not that such being the case the faith of the Brahmins is vain?" Sacrifice and the pride of caste receive no better treatment.

Other adversaries much more formidable to the rising Community were the chiefs of the Ascetics, and the corporations formed by them. The spirit which influenced some among their number was akin to that which actuated Buddha himself. When we read the sacred books of the Jainas, we can almost think we are listening to the Buddhists themselves. We do not know anything for certain of the manner in which the rivalry between the two communities manifested itself. Open hostility appears to have been a rare occurrence. It even often happened that they paid each other visits in their hermitages, and that, after the ordinary compliments, they peaceably discussed subjects of dogma. But this undoubtedly did not prevent a continual play of intrigue being carried on to assure themselves of the exclusive patronage of influential persons. King Açoka found it well to warn the different religious corporations against the spirit of detraction: "He who to give greater lustre to his own faith defames those who think differently, only harms his own cause." It would not be possible for us to make any hypothesis, as to

whether the disciples of Buddha always maintained themselves upon the serene heights of holy gentleness upon which tradition enthrones them.

What, above all, distinguishes Buddha from the greater number of his rivals is his attitude towards austerities which others had considered the chief means of obtaining salvation. He himself had practised them and had found out their uselessness. It is not fasting or corporeal pain that will banish earthly thoughts from the soul, but the working upon one's own character, and, above all, the struggle to arrive at intelligence. The force necessary for this struggle can be obtained by a life equally removed from superfluity on the one hand and from want and voluntary bodily suffering on the other.

It is this spirit of avoiding extremes, this intelligence, so superior to that of his contemporaries, of the essence of moral life, which, much more probably than the mere chance of events, ended by assuring to the work of Buddha the victory over that of his rivals.

5. *Buddha's Method of Teaching.*—The learned author, under this title, does not only present to us the exterior features of the teaching of Buddha, but he gives himself to a series of considerations upon connected points, in which the depth of perception and the sureness of erudition are united to the widest and most rigorous criticism. This is an admirable chapter that one condenses with regret.

It is quite probable that in the time of Buddha the art of writing was already known in India; but it certainly was not yet made use of for literary composition. The words from the Master's lips were gathered together and then transmitted to his disciples.

Buddha made use of the popular dialect of Eastern India, which did not differ greatly from the idioms preserved in the inscriptions, nor from Pāli, the sacred language of the Buddhists of the South.

In reading the discourses which have been preserved by tradition it is difficult to believe that Buddha could have preached his doctrine in this strange form, in which a series of abstract and obscure ideas are unfolded, full of repetitions crowded one upon the other. One expects to find in these olden times the fresh and vigorous sap which is the mark of youth; but in this are we influenced by the remembrances, so pure and so comforting in their simplicity, of the teaching of Christ?

But these reflections will not bear serious examination. The spirit of primitive Buddhism is quite different from that of the nascent Christian Church. Here the ideal is faith, simple and ingenuous; the kingdom of heaven is reserved to those who

become like unto little children. There, on the contrary, science—and what science!—is the indispensable condition of salvation; and the doctrine of salvation is nothing else than the explanation of this science, which is to say, of a series of abstract ideas and theses. For the rest, Buddha was the pupil of the Brahmans, among whom for a long time there had been developed an immoderate tendency to abstractions and to classifications. Buddha must not be compared with Christ upon this point, but rather with theologians like Origen. We are acquainted in detail with the didactic methods of the Brahmanic schools as they existed in the time of Buddha. Everything about them is artificial and narrow. Not only the diction, but even the position of the body itself, was subjected to the most complicated rules.

Professor Oldenberg gives some examples of the different styles which mingle with each other in the preachings of Buddha. We shall not repeat any of them here. The curious reader may find them in the original, or will come across analogies to them in most of the works relating to Buddhism. Let us, however, stop a little while at the poetical maxims which are very favourably distinguished from the rest. They form the most beautiful embellishment of Buddha's discourses. Our author has not found it necessary to deny the authenticity of at least a certain number of them. Later on he describes the character of these sentences:—

Thoughtful feeling looks out upon us, clad in the grand and rich attire of Indian metaphor, and the slokas, with their gently measured rhythms, so peculiarly combining uniformity and diversity, flow up and down like the surging billows of the sea, on which the clear sky is reflected amid variegated fragrant lotus flowers. The soul of the poesy, too, is nothing else but what the soul of the Buddhist faith itself is, the one thought which rings out in sublime monotony from all these apophthegms. Unhappy impermanence, happy he who has the eternal. From this thought, there pervades the proverbial wisdom of the Buddhist that tone of deep, happy repose, of which that proud sentence says that the gods themselves envy it; that repose, which looks down upon the struggling world, stoops to the most distressed, and quietly extends to him the picture of absolute peace. For the elucidation of Buddhism nothing better could happen than that at the very outset of Buddhist studies there should be presented to the student by an auspicious hand the Dhammapada, that most beautiful and richest of collections of proverbs, to which any one who is determined to know Buddhism must over and over again return.—(p. 193)

6. *The Death of Buddha.*—

We are told that Buddha attained the age of eighty years, of which fifty-four years was passed in public life, which his followers term

his Buddhahood. . . . The year of his death is one of the most firmly fixed dates in ancient Indian history ; calculations, by which the sum of possible errors is confined within tolerably narrow limits, give as a result that he died not long before, or not long after, B.C. 480.

Professor Dr. Oldenberg further on resumes the Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta, the description of the entrance of Buddha into the Supreme Nirvāna.* This account is advantageously distinguished from the northern versions, which are overcharged with marvellous details. It was at Vesālī that Buddha deprived himself of his will, by which he was enchained to the life that existed within him ; immediately a shock of earthquake and peals of thunder proclaimed his desire to enter into Nirvāna. It was also at Vesālī that he addressed his last instructions to the mendicants there assembled. They consisted of exhortations to be faithful to the teaching he had given to them. Followed by numerous disciples, he sets out for Kusinārā. When at Pāvā he eats of some pork at the house of Cunda, the son of the goldsmith. Immediately he begins to suffer the pain which is to put an end to his life. All the same, he continues his journey as far as Kusinārā. Here he bids them make him a bed upon the banks of the Hiranyavatī, in a wood, between two Sālas, which thereupon became covered with flowers. Buddha placed himself upon it, and tried to console his well-loved Ananda, who was plunged in grief. As night came on, he Mallas, or nobles of Kusinārā, hurried to the place with their wives and children to render their last homage to the Master. These were his last words : "Courage, O my disciples. I say this unto you : That which has received existence is perishable ; fight without ceasing." Then his spirit raised itself from ecstasy to ecstasy, and passing through all the degrees of rapture, he entered into Nirvāna. Immediately the earth trembled, the thunder rolled, and Brahma proclaimed his praises by reciting a stanza. Towards the rising of the sun the nobles of Kusinārā conducted the body with great honours to the doors of the town, where they burnt it, according to the customary rules for a universal monarch.

CHAP. III.—1.—General Character of the Buddhist Doctrines.

2. The Four Holy Truths ; Buddhist Pessimism. 3. The Causal nexus. 4. Being, the Soul, Nirvāna. 5. Buddhist Atheism.—Ethics : Exterior Duties ; Interior Work ; Māra, the Tempter ; the Final Degrees of Holiness ; the Buddhas.

1. *General Character of Doctrines.*—In the second portion of his learned work Professor Oldenberg makes known the doc-

* Translated by Mr. Rhys Davids in the "Sacred Books of the East."

trines which he looks upon as having been taught by Buddha. He first of all mentions a text in which the nature of the Buddhist doctrine is clearly indicated. "That which I have announced to you," said the Master to his hearers, "does not contain all that I have learnt. And why, O my disciples, have I not declared to you the rest? Because, O disciples, it can be of no profit to you (this knowledge); it will not help you to advance in a life of holiness, nor will it give you a distaste for earthly things, nor destroy all passions, nor lead to the end of all perishable things, to peace, science, illumination to the Nirvāna. What then, O my disciples, have I declared unto you?" He then goes on to enumerate the four holy truths:—

This passage states briefly and clearly what the doctrine of Buddhism is and what it is not. It does not purport to be a philosophy, which inquires into the ultimate grounds of things, unfolds to thought the breadths and depths of the universe. It addresses itself to man plunged in sorrow, and while it teaches him to understand his sorrow, it shows him the way to exterminate it, root and all. This is the only problem with which Buddhist thought is concerned. "As the vast ocean, O disciples, is impregnated with one taste, the taste of salt, so also, my disciples, this Law and Doctrine is impregnated with but one taste, with the taste of deliverance."—(p. 205.)

Deliverance is reserved only to the wise, the illuminated, as we have seen above. We have generally the right to attribute to Buddha himself the most essential doctrines of the ancient texts. This is still more so, because these texts, presenting as they do certain consecrated terms and formulas, expressing certain fundamental ideas, the use of which is so frequent, as to almost make one believe that Buddha himself made use of them during his long public career.

These stereotyped expressions help not a little to make the exact interpretation of the Buddhist texts a difficult task; instead of adapting themselves to the thought, the word thus become an impediment—a mask behind which the thought remains concealed. We may also add that often the same technical term is employed in different senses. But the most serious obstacle to the perfect understanding of the Buddhist dogmas is the absolute silence that reigns over all "which does not lead to the suppression of all passions," &c. Undoubtedly they are not sparing of definitions and metaphysical subtleties, but do not move out of the circle of ideas "which lead to peace, to the Nirvāna." But what was thus expressed left many things to be supposed, upon which a strict silence was kept; and there is no possibility of doubting that these things were really

present to the mind of Buddha and of those of his disciples who formed the dogmatic texts.

2—*The Four Truths—Pessimism.*—In his recital of the Buddhist doctrines, Professor Oldenberg follows the order of the four holy truths which form its distinct creed. These four truths of Buddhism read thus:—All is sorrow in this world; the cause of sorrow is the passions, and the love of life and of pleasure; sorrow is destroyed by a cessation of the passions; the means to destroy passion is following the Sacred Way, the means of Salvation, of which there are eight parts. Before applying himself to these general formulæ of the Buddhist dogmas, Professor Oldenberg makes a short digression, so as to determine the true nature of the pessimism which characterizes this system. He thinks it incorrect to look upon this pessimism as proceeding from the theory of the universal nothingness and from the illusory character of this world. If Buddha preached detachment from the world, it is because it is full of sorrow, and not because its existence is an illusion without any reality. The learned author further calls to mind the corresponding axioms of the Brahmanic system. The Brahmins had placed on one side Brahma or *Atmā*, man himself, as considered in his intimate being, and on the other, the world of the becoming, of births and of perishing, of destruction, of births and of old age, of deaths, in a word, of pain. Brahma, on the contrary, knows only supreme liberty and happiness. Buddhism maintains all that which has relation to the world, corporeal and changeable, but it suppresses the *Atmā*, the immovable and eternal principle. Oldenberg examines later on if it replaces this theory by some other conception. The Buddhist doctrine of the sorrow of all earthly things re-appears without ceasing under all kinds of forms; at one time as a didactic and motived teaching, at another as a moral reflection, or again as a poetical maxim.

If the pessimism of the Buddhist has not Nihilism for principle, neither has it for effect moral despair. The true Buddhist sees himself undoubtedly engaged in a world of perpetual pain, but this pain excites no further sentiment in him than that of compassion for those who still remain in this world: as for himself he knows that he is approaching the final goal. Is this goal annihilation? Perhaps so. In any case, he is far from abandoning himself with a sombre resignation to the order of things which he finds established in this world as if it were the result of an inevitable fate. On the contrary, he wishes to attain to Nirvāna and exerts himself with the same lively courage which characterizes the Christian who is sure of obtaining eternal life.

3. *The "Causal Nexus."*—The existence of pain constitutes

the object of the first of the four holy truths. The second and third reveal its origin, and the means of suppressing it. "This, O monks, is the holy truth of the origin of suffering; it is the thirst (for being), which leads from birth to birth, together with lust and desire, which finds gratification here and there: the thirst for pleasures, the thirst for being, the thirst for power." "This, O monks, is the sacred truth of the extinction of suffering, the extinction of this thirst by complete annihilation of desire, letting it go, expelling it, separating oneself from it, giving it no room."

The state of being [says Professor Oldenberg] as it surrounds us in this world, with its restless oscillations between origination and decease, is our misfortune. The ground of our existing is our will. This is our besetting sin, that we will to be ourselves, that we fondly will our being to blend with other being and extend. The negation of the will to be cuts off being, for us at least. Thus, the two tenets of the origin of suffering and its cessation comprise the sum of all human action and all human destiny.

But upon what is this thirst, which is the basis of our existence, founded? And next, what is the law, the mechanism, what are the intermediaries by which it brings us to the renewal of our existence? The most ancient documents already occupied themselves with these questions, which they decide by the formula, entitled "*paticecasamuppāda*," or the chain of causes of the birth (of things) (*Causal Nexus des Entstehens*). This formula is sometimes regarded as an integral element of the holy truths, where it then takes the places of the second and the third. It would be useless to give here in detail a formula which is to be found in all the works upon Buddhism, but it is necessary to mention certain parts of it, to which the learned author has attached some important considerations.

The formula commences thus: "From Ignorance come Conformations (*sankhārā*, *Gestaltungen*). From Conformation comes Consciousness."

According to the Pāli documents, ignorance is nothing else than the non-knowledge of the four holy truths, and such is the doctrine of primitive Buddhism. Such an ignorance has for its fatal results the dispossessing man of the knowledge of the true nature of existence; in consequence he abandons himself to delusive desires, the effect of which is to lead him to existence, to the state which he has coveted; and it is thus that at the moment of death the desires formed by man have the effect of creating for him the *consciousness* of a fixed state. This consciousness, continuing to exist after death, will, by its effect, itself develop into a new being, conformable with the desire of the dead person.

It may be seen that the idea of the *sankhārā* producing *consciousness*, the germ of a new existence, possesses a close resemblance with the theory of moral retribution or of the *Kamma*. *Kamma* signifies action. The *Kamma*, personal action, meritorious or demeritorious, is the property of man; it survives him and produces by its intrinsic virtue, and not by the intervention of a remunerative being, a new individual in accordance with his nature. The precise sense of desire formed at the moment of death, the interior moral *action*, which we have first attached to the word *Sankhāra* (according to a Pāli text), is not its most common meaning in our formula. It might ordinarily be translated by the word *action*; but this requires some explanation.

The word *Sankhāra* derives from a verb, which signifies to arrange, adorn, prepare. *Sankhāra* is both the preparation and that prepared; but these two coincide in Buddhist conceptions much more than in ours, for to the Buddhist mind—we shall have more to say on that point later on—the made has existence only and solely in the process of being made; whatever is, is not so much a something which is, as the process rather of a being, self-generating and self-again consuming being.—(p. 242.)

By this identification of becoming and being, of phenomenon and substance, our *sankhāra* is equally apt to designate the various entities which compose the universe, as well as the products of human activity, external or internal.

Thus, the ancient scholastics employ the word *Sankhāra* in the sense of action, meritorious or demeritorious, and consequently effective of a new existence.

Therefore, one must be careful here in our formula not to take the word *Sankhāra* in the sense of illusions, of fallacious *entities* created by a cosmical power, which would be ignorance concretized, so to say. Many philosophical schools of later Buddhism understood it in this sense; in the *Prajñāparāmita*, the world is confounded with ignorance, and this with nothingness. It is the counterpart of the *Māyā*, or cosmic delusion of the Brahmanic philosophy, which designates that power of delusion which, by its union with the One uncreated, produces the world of delusion. The One uncreated, however, as such, that is to say, as far as distinct from the universal unchangeable *Ātman*, is himself a delusion.

The ancient Brahmins did not understand it thus. According to them ignorance, the cause of the slavery of the soul in this world of existence, was the ignorance of the identity of the particular *Ātmā* (self) with the universal *Ātmā* (self). We know that Buddha rejected these doctrines; he denounced the doctrine of the

Ātmā as a fatal error; but he still kept the Brahmanic formula. For those who wished to know what was this ignorance, the primary cause of all evils, he naturally answered that it was the ignorance of the four truths which form the foundation of the Buddhist doctrine and reform.

The chain of causality continues thus:—"From consciousness come name and corporeal form."

Consciousness is not understood here to be a passing psychological phenomenon, but an existing germ—in the sense in which Buddhism understands existence. It is this germ alone which communicates to a being, from its mother's womb, the faculty of assimilating to itself, of forming the material elements, in such a manner as to give them figure and matter, which will become man endowed with such a name and with such a body. We have already seen what the *sankhāras* are, the actions and, above all, the last thought of a dying man, which maintain and form consciousness; this latter, in its turn, produces a being whose name and body correspond to its nature.

The name and corporeity, however, are not in the relation with consciousness merely of cause and effect; consciousness must, to be developed, support itself upon a complexus of name and of corporeity. It is this that Buddha is said to have taught to Sāriputta, in the following simile: "My friends, as two bundles of sticks leaning against each other stand, so also, my friend, consciousness grows out of name and material form, and name and form out of consciousness." Once consciousness—the intelligence, let us call it—is communicated to its body, the process of life develops itself: "From name and corporeal form," says the sacred formula, "come the six fields, viz., the six fields of the subject—eye, ear, nose, tongue, body (or organ of the sense of touch), understanding; and the six fields of the object world—corporeal forms, sounds, odours, taste, tangibility, and thoughts." The formula runs further: "From the six fields come contact between the senses and their objects; from contact comes sensation; from sensation comes thirst (or desire); from desire comes clinging (to existence); from clinging (to existence) comes being; from being comes birth; from birth comes old age and death, pain and lamentation, suffering, anxiety and despair. This is the origin of the whole realm of suffering." To appreciate the meaning of the formula it must be remembered that it is destined to explain the relation between the desire and existence, and the origin of desire itself. As for the connexion between the different rings of the chain, Oldenberg remarks that the three last ones take up the being as already acting in the world, and make it take birth in the world of suffering. He sees no means of elucidating this anomaly; but we will console ourselves

by thinking that the Buddhists themselves were contented with it, without certainly having seen any connexion in it which does not exist.

4. *Being.*—*The Soul ; Nirvāna.*—We have just explained the philosophical theories of the Buddhists, in the form which they themselves gave them. It is necessary to go over the same questions in a manner more suitable to our habits and thoughts. We will ask ourselves, then, what idea the teaching of Buddha gave of the world and of God, of the soul, and of the last end?

Buddhism conceives quite a different idea of being and of existence to what we do. According to it all beings form a chain of phenomena, of which one necessarily causes the appearance of a succeeding one; each one of them being cause and effect in its turn, and all being equally changing and transitory. This chain is indefinite in a retrogressive sense; it is equally so in a progressive sense, with this restriction, that any individual can, by following the sacred way shown by Buddha, definitely stop, upon one point, the fatal progress of existence and of suffering. The beings are called *Saṅkhāras*, conformations in so far as phenomena; and *dhammas*, order, inasmuch as they are their own immanent law; it is thus that they look upon the *existence* and the *essence* of things. There is no necessity after this to add that the idea of substance is completely unknown to them. The *dhammas*, as well as the *saṅkhāras*, are passing and unstable entities. All the *dhammas*, so say the Pāli texts, are *anattā* (Sanskrit, *anātman*), that is to say, possess nothing of the stable and imperishable nature (*dhruva*, *akshara*), which the Brahmans attribute to their *ātman* or universal being. Professor Oldenberg very happily characterizes the fundamental difference between the Brahmanic and the Buddhist doctrines in the following terms:—

Some have expressed the difference between the Brahman and the Buddhist conception of the existence of things, as if, of the component parts which together form the idea of becoming (being and not being), the former had laid hold of the idea of being only, and the latter of non-being only. We prefer to avoid every expression which would make Buddhism regard non-being as the true substance of things, and to express ourselves thus: The speculation of the Brahmans apprehended being in all becoming, that of the Buddhists becoming in all apparent being. In the former case, substance without causality, in the latter, causality without substance (p. 251).

The idea of a law, and of an absolute law, which rules the progress of this world—which progress is the world itself—is essential to Buddhism. But, one might ask oneself, going a little further than Dr. Oldenberg, whether this law itself is uncreated? Let us not forget that these laws, this order,

constitute the things, the *dhammas* themselves, these *dhammas* which compose the world. It might appear, at first sight, that by this theory Buddha closes the last issue to the Theistic solution of the supreme problem of philosophy. He never dreamt, any more than the Brahmans, of an extra-mundane cause, producing the world independently of its own substance; he lowered to the rank of simple genii Brahma, the creator, or rather, "emissor," and all the gods of the ancient Indian Olympus; he rejected the idea of the *ātman* or universal being, as we have seen before; he could still, however, by admitting an eternal, subsisting law, independent of things, raise himself to a very pure and very sublime idea of the Divinity. But, by placing the law which rules the world in the world itself, has he not expressly denied this Law which is God? and must we not definitively class him as an Atheist? The answer seems simple; but doubt might rise again, if one considers that Buddha restricted himself by preference to teaching those doctrines which have a practical bearing; his teaching is a moral theory, and if the *causal nexus* has some metaphysical traits, it is very easily to be seen that it occupies itself only with man and the world, in so far as the former is engaged in social life, and in so far as the latter acts upon man as an obstacle to his obtaining the last end—that is to say, the deliverance from suffering. We shall have to consider, from a nearer point of view, this negative character in the teaching of Buddha, in speaking of the Nirvāna. The answer to the question we have just asked, and which Oldenberg does not touch upon, will be better placed at the end of this chapter; but it has appeared more advantageous to us to formulate it after stating the doctrines which naturally called it forth, and which would have been difficult to recall.

The human soul, as we understand it, with the Buddhists, enters into the same order of conception. Thoughts, sensations, sentiments are like the waves of the sea, which follow one another, roll on, driving one another forward, and disappear to make way for other waves. Consciousness itself is only a series of direct actions of this movement.

The comparison of human life with the ocean agitated by the waves is a very familiar one with the Buddhists, but there is still another which impresses them more and which has served the author of the "*Milinda Pañha*" to characterize, or rather to show the non-existence of a permanent subject: it is that of the fire which, while assimilating itself without ceasing to other matter, continues to burn, always new and always like to itself.

It is not the same being [says the Saint Nāgasena, in the above-quoted work], and yet they are not separate beings, which relieve one

another in the series of existences. "Give an illustration," says King Milinda. "If a man were to light a light, O great King, would it not burn on through the night?"—"Yes, sire, it would burn through the night."—"How, then, O great King? Is the flame in the first watch of the night identical with the flame in the midnight watch?"—"No, sire." "And the flame in the midnight watch, is it identical with the flame in the last watch of the night?"—"No, sire." "But how, then, O great King, was the light in the first watch of the night another, in the midnight watch another, and in the last watch another?"—"No, sire; it has burned all night long, feeding on the same fuel."—"So also, O great King, the chain of elements of being (*dhamma*) completes itself; the one comes, the other goes. Without beginning, without end, the circle completes itself; therefore it is neither the same being nor another being which presents itself last to the consciousness.

That which we call *soul* is, then, in the eyes of Buddha nothing but a particular flame in the middle of the world, which is only an ocean of fire, as the texts say. The thirst, the desire burns while attaching itself without ceasing to fresh objects, and thus produces this uninterrupted continuation of acts of consciousness, of perception, and of sentiment which seem to constitute an individual, until the suppression of this *initium dolorum* comes to extinguish at this point the fire of existence and of suffering. Then comes extinction or Nirvāna—for such is the etymology of the word—the realization of the last end. There are great discussions, profound disagreements upon the nature of this state. We have arrived at the point where Professor Oldenberg exposes his manner of looking upon this subject. The explanation on this point of the Buddhist doctrine is one of the most beautiful chapters in the book of the learned author. Allowing himself constantly to be led by the Pāli texts, from which he has extracted all the passages relating to the subject, he arrives at conclusions which do not absolutely exclude any of the opinions maintained up to his time. The fault of many of the discussions upon this subject has been in drawing conclusions from the doctrine of Buddha which he had never found, and in describing his system as the development of a principle which was at the most only an implied consequence. The author protests, with reason, against this proceeding. A religion or a doctrine as concrete facts, in so far as they have been professed, must be characterized in the same manner in which they have been looked upon by their adherents, and not by their abstract meaning, however real. There is here to be distinguished a subjective and an objective element, this last naturally independent of historical research. But it is evidently the first which one must keep in view when one wishes to

answer the question as to what constituted Buddhism—that is to say, what were the religious ideas of the Buddhist: still more one must distinguish the epochs and men. There is no means of denying that the Buddhist metaphysics, as described above, do carry in their bosom the germs of nihilism. If the entire world is a composition of *sankhāras*, of passing and fluctuating phenomena; if man does not carry within him a single germ of stability, of permanence, one cannot see how there can remain after the dissolution, the extinction of these phenomena, anything but void, nothingness. A world, a being placed outside of the ocean of perishable things, could not for the rest have any connection with the latter, except on condition of participating in its transitory nature, says Oldenberg. The conditional can only be thought of as conditioned by another conditional. This teaching is absolutely necessary according to the universal principles of the Hindu philosophy. But have the Buddhists seen, or rather have they considered and formulated this consequence? Before answering this question we must study, following our author, the meaning of the word *nirvāna*, which is the ordinary term for designating the ultimate goal. *Nirvāna*, in an etymological sense, signifies extinction. It was thought possible in the beginning to decide the question which now occupies us by saying that the point in question was that of the extinction of existence; but if one will recollect the frequent comparisons made in the texts between the *thirst*, the desire, and a devouring fire, it will be seen immediately that it is just as natural to think about *the extinction of this fire of desire*. And, in fact, this idea is perfectly confirmed by the texts in which the acquisition of *Nirvāna* is not even postponed until after death. It will be sufficient to quote the following:—

“The disciple who has put off lust and desire, rich in wisdom, has here on earth attained the deliverance from death, the rest, the *Nirvāna*, the eternal state.” “He who has escaped from the trackless, hard mazes of the *Sansāra*, who has crossed over and reached the shore, self-absorbed, without stumbling and without doubt, who has delivered himself from earthly things and attained *Nirvāna*, him I call a true Brahman.”

So far the notion of *Nirvāna*, of deliverance is purely negative, and it appears very certain that in the beginning it was never examined but from this point of view. In any case, the Pāli texts often show us Buddha refusing to answer any positive questions relating to this point. This silence on the part of the Master was also the only answer of the official doctrine of ancient Buddhism. It was strictly forbidden to give oneself up to speculations upon the state of the saint who had entered into

Nirvāna. Buddha had not revealed it ; on the contrary, he had considered it dangerous to talk about such things with his disciples, whose chief aim should be deliverance by the extinction of the fire of the passions. But is it possible that men could content themselves with such a negative ruling? How could people who lived so much separated from all worldly distraction prevent themselves from sometimes scrutinizing with a timid gaze this mysterious future, of which one would forbid them the view? It evidently was quite impossible that the mind of man, always so quick to discover a way to the things to which his heart aspired, would not try to elude the prohibition by one of those thousand self-illusions which are of the most mysterious sides of our psychological organization?

The sacred texts reflect these timid, unconscious reflections upon a question that it was forbidden to ask. Professor Oldenberg quotes the colloquy between King Pasenadi, of Kosala, and the Nun Khemā, renowned for her wisdom, upon the subject of the state of the sage after his entrance into the Nirvāna. Khemā contents herself by giving the official answer: "The Exalted One has not declared it," to the questions of the king, who asked successively, "Does he exist after death; does he not exist? Does he at the same time exist and not exist?" But the nun in her turn takes the offensive, objects to him the mysteries of nature, and ends by saying that "if the existence of the Perfect One must be measured by the predicates of corporeal form, or of sensations and the rest, it is destroyed in its very roots." "But," she continues, "the Perfect One is released from this, that his being should be gauged by the measure of the corporeal world; he is deep, immeasurable, unfathomable as the great ocean." Therefore she declares any answer to the above questions to be inapposite.

At the bottom, this way of putting aside the question is itself an answer; the good Khemā probably broke the canonical law without being aware of it.

In another text the Monk Yamaka is declared to be a heretic, for having said that the meaning of Buddha's doctrine is that "a monk who is free from sin is subject to annihilation when his body dissolves." They make him acknowledge it, not by proposing a contrary doctrine, but by showing him his ignorance upon the identity, or non-identity, of the sage with the corporeal or spiritual entities of this world. All this clearly shows that it would be unjust to attribute the doctrine of nothingness to Buddha. Buddha sees evil and wishes to suppress it. The metaphysical doctrine restricts itself to questions immediately connected with this end; as for the rest he keeps and enjoins silence. We have no right to qualify his doctrine by the con-

clusions we may ourselves draw from it. We may say that his premises contain the germs of nihilism, more so even because many of his disciples—among the philosophers at least—have drawn such conclusions; but we cannot go further in speaking of him personally and of his first disciples—if they were really such they are shown in the Pāli texts, and as they are affirmed by Professor Oldenberg.

5. *Buddhist Atheism.*—Here we may make, on our own account, a little digression upon Buddhist atheism. Is Buddhism a religion without God? The question has been resolved in divers manners, like that of the nature and of the origin of Buddhism in general. To be able to give an exact answer it is necessary to distinguish time and places. It is certain, in the first place, that if one identifies primitive Buddhism with the system of the ancient Pāli documents, there is no question of the divinity; but it must not be forgotten that these documents are not yet perfectly known to us to their full extent; the future, perhaps, reserves some surprise for us, even at the price of a certain inconsequence of the system. A profound student of Pāli antiquity, familiar with a quantity of unedited documents, whose name we regret not to be allowed to state, has assured us that there are traces of a notion of the divinity conceived as the Supreme Law, independent and superior to the world visible or intelligible. He also quotes a fact drawn from his rich experience, and which recalls the considerations of the Nun Khemā, mentioned above. One of his contemporaries had become friendly with the Superior of a Buddhist monastery in Burmah, a venerable man of more than seventy years of age. This man, after many years of commerce with his friend the missionary, conceived the desire of knowing the Christian religion, which he shortly afterwards embraced. The missionary, who afterwards received the confidences of the convert about his former life, relates that this virtuous monk had never committed a serious sin, that each day he had devoted many hours to the contemplation of the Law—that is to say, as he explained it, the Eternal Law, existing of itself. . . . This fact well suggests several considerations. In the first place, this idea of the Divinity, while different from that with which we are familiar, is neither less true nor less exalted. This further shows that even if the texts themselves were quite strange to every notion of God, this latter might easily produce itself in the minds of individuals, without affecting in any way the doctrine professed by them. But every one does not look upon primitive Buddhism as identical with the picture drawn of it by the Pāli texts. Later on we will describe the systems of Séuart and Kern.

In the early centuries posterior to our era, we find the Bud-

dhists separated into two large sects, one of which, while following a mere practical tendency, professed a system which most likely hardly differed from that which we have just explained; the other, occupying itself a great deal with speculative questions, with which the Pāli texts did not meddle, or even forbade the investigation. These metaphysicians, whose doctrines are to be found in the books of Nepāl, are idealists, or, rather, absolute nihilists. But it is quite time to draw attention to another essential distinction. Buddhism, as a religion distinct from all others, is almost restricted to monasteries. Everywhere that it has established itself it still allowed to exist by its side the national religion. Let us add that this tolerance is the natural result of the incompleteness of its own character as a religious system; besides which, the knowledge and the practice of that which we have explained up to this is only necessary to those who desire to enter the Nirvāna immediately after this life, the simple adherents contenting themselves by living in such a manner as to merit, in a future existence, the knowledge of those things necessary for deliverance. After this there is, perhaps, no reason to be astonished at the presence of doctrines which are justly qualified as contrary to human nature, but which have produced themselves in other times and other countries.

Modern Buddhism is very different according to the different countries. In Ceylon and in the peninsula of Further India it is based—in the monasteries—upon the Pāli tradition, in so far as the monks are acquainted with it; for a good many of their number are ignorant enough to be ranged among the people who profess the most diverse creeds, while at the same time honouring Buddha. In Thibet, Buddhism has developed a whole hierarchy, probably under the influence of the Christian missionaries of the Middle Ages; the official doctrines are much nearer to Theism than to the ancient Buddhist doctrines. In Nepāl it has become confounded with Īvaism. It is difficult to say really in what the Buddhism of China and Japan consist; to most of those who profess it, it is nothing more than a re-casting, under other names, of the local religions or superstitions. We will not say anything of the religions or intellectual state of the monasteries of these countries, of which little is known. From what precedes it equally results that it is a real sophism to compare the numbers of those who are called Buddhists with those who profess Christianity. The distances separating the different Christian confessions are negligible quantities in comparison with those which separate the Buddhists among themselves. Again, Buddhism as a distinct religion exists only in the interior of the monasteries. The veneration of Buddha and some few moral precepts placed under his name

are not sufficient to enrol among the number of his disciples those who reserve the best part of their religious acts for divinities who have not the slightest connection with Buddhism. Buddhism must not be compared with the Christian religion, but with a religious mendicant order. Let us imagine a convent of Franciscans establishing themselves in a barbarous country; the inhabitants do not become converted, but, being witnesses of the virtues of the good disciples of St. Francis, they begin to venerate the holy patron and to repeat some of his maxims. Let us further imagine that the missionaries content themselves with this *conversion* and promise the Pagans, in return above all for the help which they give to them, the grace of becoming perfect monks in a future life. Now, who would ever dream of counting these singular converts as part of the Christian community? Such is and has always been the normal condition of Buddhists living outside the monasteries. If the writers who defend Christianity had realized these facts, which are exposed in all the serious works which treat of Buddhism, they could have dispensed with defending Christianity upon a point where defence is quite superfluous. In the same manner the short reflections which we have made upon Buddhist Atheism suffice to show that the dissertations upon the possibility of a religion without God are without any real object.

6. *Ethics*.—Buddhist morality is connected by Professor Oldenberg with the fourth tenet of the holy truths. "This, O monks," so runs this tenet, "is the sacred truth of the path to the extinction of suffering; it is the sacred eightfold path, to wit—right faith, right resolve, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right thought, right self-concentration."

The Buddhists have quite a scholastic manner of enumerating and classing the vices, virtues, and the degrees of perfection; but this has little interest for us. Let us endeavour simply to follow the fundamental traits of their doctrine of morality.

It is quite clear, in the first place, that there can be no question of a legislator whose will was imposed as the rule of good and evil. The metaphysical system, which we have just reviewed, ignores, or even implicitly denies, the existence of a being or principle placed outside of the chain of cause and effect. The only foundation of honest action of which it speaks to us is the interest of the agent, whose actions physically and fatally produce their effects. "He who speaks or acts with impure thoughts, him will sorrow follow, as the wheel follows the foot of the horse. He who speaks or acts with pure thought, him joy follows like his shadow, which leaves him not," says the Dhammapada. The foundation of morality is therefore the recompense of good

actions, be it by a happy existence in the future, or by obtaining the last end, the Nirvāna.

The elements of Buddhist morality may be reduced to three categories, the names of which are constantly recurring—uprightness, self-concentration, and wisdom. They are compared to the stages of a journey, the first of which is uprightness. The third category is not, however, independent of the first; this one is without doubt the basis, but this basis itself is only rendered perfect by the accession of wisdom.

It is only in the monasteries that the moral ideal of Buddhism can be realized; the most virtuous ordinary life is but a preparation for it in this life or in another. The final object, in fact, is not to make good use of the world, but to withdraw oneself completely from it. Let us pass on to the consideration of the three categories. Uprightness is acquired by observing the negative precepts, especially destined for the laics or simple adherents:

1. Not to kill any living thing;
2. Not to lay hands on another's property;
3. Not to touch another's wife;
4. Not to speak what is untrue;
5. Not to drink intoxicating drinks.

For the monks the third prohibition was replaced by the precept of absolute chastity. The first precept also receives a positive development. Buddhism, in fact, gives a large place to that which we call love of our neighbour; it praises, exalts and pushes even to exaggeration the virtues which it styles compassion, benevolence, beneficence. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by words, and we must not identify these virtues with the Christian virtues which bear the same names. It is quite unnecessary to show at length the total difference in principle which inspires them. The love and the compassion of the Buddhist for the world is nothing but the sentiment which corresponds to his belief of universal suffering. But we must here let the words of the learned author speak for themselves:—

Some who have endeavoured to bring Buddhism up to Christianity have given compassionate love of all creatures as the kernel of the Buddhist's pure morality. In this there is something of truth. But the inherent difference of the two moral powers is still apparent. The language of Buddhism has no word for the poesy of Christian love, of which that hymn of Paul's is full, the love which is greater than faith and hope, without which one, though he spake with the tongue of men or of angels, would be a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal; nor has the reality, in which that poetry assumed flesh and blood within the Christian world, had its parallel in the history of Buddhism. We may say that love, such as it displays itself in Buddhist

morality, oscillating between negative and positive, approaches to Christian love without actually touching it, in a way similar to that in which the beatitude of the Nirvāna, though fundamentally wholly different from the Christian idea of happiness, does to a certain extent, as we saw, swing towards it. Buddhism does not so much enjoin on one to love his enemy, as not to hate his enemy; it evokes and cherishes the emotion of friendly goodness and tender heartedness towards all creatures, a feeling in which the motive power is not the groundless, enigmatic self-surrender of love, but rather intelligent reflection, the convictions that it is thus best for all, and not least the expectation, that the natural law of retribution will allot to such conduct the richest reward.—(p. 232.)

Buddhism sometimes approaches stoicism, of which the following text, perhaps, may recall the superb self-complacency:—
 “Those who cause me pain and those who cause me joy, to all am I alike; affection and hatred I know not. In joy and in sorrow I remain unmoved, in honour and dishonour; through all am I the same. That is the perfection of my equanimity.”
 As for the rest benevolence brings to him who possesses it a kind of magic power, which conquers all creatures upon whom it directs a ray. We arrive at last at beneficence, the ideal of which confounds itself with that of abnegation and of voluntary suffering, and with it knows no limit. It is thus that it is related how Buddha, in an anterior existence, when he lived as a hermit in the woods, had successively given up his goods, his wife and his children. These anterior existences of Buddha were numerous, and the history of them forms the great mass of the legends or fables with which the disciples of the great sage edified themselves. Thus it is told that Buddha was once a white rabbit; he lived a very virtuous life, and even preached the good doctrine to a monkey, a jackal, and an otter, who were his friends. He ended this existence by an act of the most heroic beneficence. The god Sakka (Indra) having disguised himself as a Brahman, begged of him some food; the poor rabbit having nothing to give him to eat, begged him to prepare a fire which Sakka kindled, and on which the rabbit placed himself and allowed himself to be roasted, and to serve as food for his host. It is thus that the future Buddha prepared himself for his mission. But—and this does honour to the Buddhist doctrine—exterior justice is only deserving the name when it is accompanied by interior justice. It does not even suffice to keep guard over one's self, to carefully preserve one's soul from all dangerous contact with exterior objects; one must have besides the will, the good intention, it is this which really makes the merit of the action. The scholastic doctrine gives to these duties of interior watchfulness, self-education, and self-puri-

fication, a middle place between uprightness and the two higher ranges of perfect life. This work of man upon himself is a warfare against evil, against the seductive world which surrounds him. Buddha did not teach the origin of this bad principle, which is the essence itself of the world; we know that he systematically avoided all questions regarding origins. He contented himself with declaring the fact of evil, of universal suffering; he also personified it even under the figure of Māra (death), who is not the one by whom evil has come into the world, but rather the supreme Lord of all evil, the chief seducer to evil thought, word, and deed. The philosopher's idea was that Māra was simply the impersonal power, the fatal law which determines the course of things in this world, which we have already studied; but for the simple faith it is a personal being, as real as Buddha himself, and subject like all beings to change at death and to being re-born again. To Māra are attributed all the temptations, all the disasters that occurred to the virtuous monks; he appears under every form to crush and to tempt those who endeavour to advance in the way of deliverance. Thus it is that having passed over a thousand obstacles, after many existences in the most diversified worlds, the beings tossed upon the ocean of pain attain at last to the highest degrees of perfection, at the threshold of the Nirvāna. It is then that the Buddhist can proudly contemplate himself; for he is indebted to nothing but his own efforts; the gods themselves render homage to his spiritual greatness. The only help which has been given to him has come to him from one of his fellow-creatures, from Buddha, or from one of his disciples more advanced than he, who have simply shown him the road to victory.

Meditation, contemplation, or rather the concentration of the faculties of the soul upon the holy truths, the entire abstraction from all perishable things is placed in close relation with the last stages which lead to final deliverance. The Pāli documents describe with enthusiasm the state of the monk who gives himself up in solitude to this exercise, which takes the place of prayer with the Buddhists. It appears that in the midst of the various fantastic descriptions of which they are full, one must give admittance to the fact of hallucination, which could very easily occur owing to their mode of life; we cannot absolutely deny all reality to the recitals of marvellous visions, of celestial music, of the apparitions, of gods or of Māra. But that was not the regular type of concentration which is described an incalculable number of times as being composed of four degrees. Let us here reproduce a text which describes one of the methods by which they endeavoured to approach themselves to the final term:—

As this house of Migāramāṭā is empty of elephants and cattle, of stallions and mares, empty of silver and gold, empty of the crowds of men and women, and it is not empty only in one respect, viz., not empty of monks, so also Ananda the monk gets rid of the notion "man," and thinks only of the notion "forest," . . . then he perceives that emptiness has entered his notions in respect of the notion "village," and emptiness has entered in respect of the notion "man," non-emptiness is alone present in respect to the notion "forest." And next the notion "forest" also is got rid of, so that the notion "earth" is attained with the omission of all the multitudinous variety of the earth's surface; thence the mind mounts in a similar way to the notion of the "endlessness of space," of "endlessness of reason," of "nothing-whatever-ness," step by step approaching deliverance.—(p. 317.)

The fruit of contemplation is the perfect knowledge of doctrine, particularly of the four holy truths; wisdom, in its turn, favours and perfects contemplation.

Side by side with the doctrine of contemplation preparatory to the Nirvāṇa, comes a theory which equally relates to the last stages of the way of deliverance; it is the division of those persons who are approaching the last end into four classes. This theory appears but little in the most ancient doctrines. The last of these stages can only be obtained by the monks; it is the state of the saint, of the *arhat*, who has already entered into Nirvāṇa, and of whom death will efface even the exterior appearance.

Above the *arhat* himself is found the *paccekabuddha*; that is, he who has attained perfection with the help of a universal Buddha, but the perfection of these is not great enough to enable them to announce the good doctrine to the entire world; they are Buddhas for themselves. In short, the summum of perfection, the supreme ideal of Buddhist holiness, concentrates itself alone in the person of "the exalted, holy, universal Buddha." The idea of Buddha and of Buddhahip already exists in the ancient texts; it is evidently an abstraction of the person of the historical Buddha from the mission with which he charged himself; but an abstract developed and exalted by the zeal and the pious imagination of his disciples. Buddha does not by any means occupy the same place in the Buddhist religion as Christ does in the Christian religion; this follows from the nature itself of the doctrine. Buddhism knows no God, neither the personal God whom we adore, nor the pantheistical god who includes all reality; there was, therefore, no place for a mediation, nor for an incarnation, nor even for a posterior deification of the Master. Nor could there be question of redemption, since all is subject to a fatal and inevitable law. Buddha is therefore a Master simply, a teacher who, by his word and his example, shows to men the way of salvation. The Gotama

Buddha is not an isolated example; there have been and there will be Buddhas in all the innumerable periods, in all the worlds which exist, to an infinite number side by side with our own. The Buddhas who preach the doctrine upon our planet are all born in the eastern portion of Central India; all belong to the Brahman or Kshatriya caste; all acquire the necessary learning at the foot of a tree, and all present a certain number of physical and moral characteristics, which the School reckons and enumerates most scrupulously.

Thus Buddha always remains a man, and all the marvellous qualities and powers that are attributed to him do not present anything superior to human nature. According to the Buddhist conception, the Gotama Buddha is nothing more than a man, but an ideal man, far superior to the divinities which the polytheism of all countries has so often debased to the imperfect and oftentimes vicious conditions of men. Let us quote a text which celebrates the excellence of the supreme Buddha.

Buddha says:—

The all-subduing, all-knowing, am I, in everything that I am, without a spot. I have given up everything; I am without a desire, a delivered one. By my own power, I possess knowledge; whom should I call my master? I have no teacher; no one is to be compared to me. In the world, including the heavens, there is no one like unto me. I am the holy one in the world; I am the supreme Master. I alone am the perfect Buddha; the flames are extinct in me; I have attained the Nirvāna.

Will the mission of the Buddhas ever have the effect of leading all beings to the Nirvāna? Will this Nirvāna itself consist in universal void? Buddha has not revealed these things, and his followers did not much occupy themselves with them; we will, however, quote a passage which seems to answer the first of these questions:—

“In the worlds beings all put off corporeity at some time, just as at this present time Buddha, the prince of victory, the supreme master of all worlds, the mighty, perfect one, hath entered into Nirvāna.”

PH. COLINET.

ART. III.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASS.

I ENDEAVOURED to give an account, in a late number of this REVIEW, of the manner in which the Liturgy was probably derived from the Jewish services. I was anxious to state Professor Bickell's view with a fulness which may have seemed unnecessary, because, so far as I know, he has been the first among Catholics to suggest a definite hypothesis whereby the framework of the Mass could be connected with sources anterior to Christianity. There has always been a tradition in the Church, as SS. Jerome and Gregory Nazianzen,* for instance, bear witness that the Christian Church derived its services from the Synagogue. But the great liturgiologists of former times were deterred from further inquiry by a belief which I must consider before I can proceed further. They held that in the earliest ages of the Church there was no definite Liturgy beyond the words of institution and the Lord's Prayer, which, they thought, were alone used whenever stress of persecution or other circumstances made it expedient to shorten the Mass as much as possible. It is only due to the authority of these illustrious scholars that this opinion should be carefully examined. It was based, so far as I can see, solely upon the supposed authority of St. Gregory the Great. In a passage which has been much disputed he has been generally thought to say that the Apostles were wont to use the Lord's Prayer only at the offering of the sacrifice.†

It is, however, equally possible grammatically, as Probst points out, to connect "oblationis" with "orationem," taking the two words together as equivalent to our "Canon," and in opposition to the "oratio dominica." As St. Gregory's object was to direct "*orationem dominicam mox post canonem dici*," this construction would be much more consistent, and removes all difficulty. If St. Gregory's language admitted of no such simple interpretation, we should be driven, with Le Brun, respectfully to put aside his authority for this historical statement, for it is hardly possibly he should have been unaware that several of his predecessors had explicitly affirmed the Apostolical origin of parts

* S. Hieron. Ep. ad Evag. 85; S. Greg. Naz. Hom. in Pentec.

† "*Orationem vero dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent; et valde mihi inconueniens visum est, ut precem, quam scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem, quam redemptor noster composuit, super eius corpus et sanguinem taceremus. Sed et dominica oratio apud Graecos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo sacerdote.*"—*Ep. ad Joan. Syr.* 1, 9; Ep. 12.

of the Liturgy. The same conclusion follows as certainly from all that we know of early liturgical history. I have already remarked upon St. Paul's language to the Corinthians, as showing that he delivered to his disciples, not merely the formula of consecration, but also such liturgical details as he thought needful; and a hundred years later St. Justin states that the Liturgy had been handed down to the faithful of his own time from the Apostles.* Again, the agreement of all Liturgies, not merely in their general character, but also in many details, must point to a common origin, which can hardly be other than the Apostles themselves.† Finally, the recovery of the lost passages of St. Clement's Epistle has revealed so much that is even verbally identical with the Alexandrian Liturgy as to lead to the belief that the Pontiff was quoting the text of the Mass. Even such a cautious scholar as Dr. Lightfoot was satisfied that in St. Clement's time—the end of the first century—there must have been already not only a definite framework, but more or less uniformity in the substance and very language of the Liturgical petitions.

We may, then, safely assume that the main substance of the Liturgy was delivered, and delivered orally, by the Apostles to their disciples; the next question will naturally be, if there is any evidence how long it continued unwritten. Le Brun supposed that it was handed down by word of mouth alone until the fifth century; but the passages on which he based this opinion—and Dr. Lightfoot could not add to their number—are all susceptible of different interpretations. St. Justin speaks of the bishop as pronouncing the Liturgical prayers *ὁση δύναμις αὐτῶ*, a phrase which may refer merely to fervency of supplication, and occurs also in a written Liturgy. Tertullian, when he said "ut quisque de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio, provocatur in medium canere," was evidently not speaking of the celebrant, and apparently not of the strictly liturgical part of the service; and St. Basil points out that the Liturgy has its warrant in tradition, as distinguished from Scripture.‡ On the contrary, Celsus stated

* "We Christians . . . have learned the divine worship through the Apostles of Jesus, from the law and the word which have gone forth from Jerusalem."—*Dial.* cap. 110. See, too, Tertullian, de Cor. 3 and 4.

† Such details are: the Lessons and the Gospel; the "Sursum Corda," the Preface, the Consecration; the "Unde et memores"; the Intercession for the Living and the Dead; the Lord's Prayer; and the Fraction.

‡ To these passages might now be added the permission in the "Didache" (xi. 7) for the prophets to "give thanks as much as they would"—*εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν*. This obscure phrase seems to me to refer to the outpourings of the charismata, which I have before remarked probably took the place of the Lessons in the primitive Church upon occasion. But the concession of such a liberty shows that there was even then a Liturgical order binding on the faithful.

that he had seen the "barbarous books" of the Christian priests "with daemonic names and portentous expressions"; and Origen's reply seems to show that this must refer to Liturgical books, and not merely to the diptychs, as has been supposed.*

However this may be, it is clear that definite liturgical formulae must have existed in the second century. Much of the evidence for this will appear from what I shall have to say hereafter, so that I will here only mention two points which will not recur. The *πρόμνηται καὶ ὕμνοι* of St. Justin, the *προσσταχθεῖσαι εὐχαὶ* of Origen, can only be supposed to mean set forms; and this is completely proved by finding the closest identity, not merely in substance, but even in expression, between the Liturgies and the liturgical allusions in these and others of the early Fathers. Again, St. Irenaeus and Tertullian could not have blamed the Gnostics for corrupting the Liturgy if a text did not already exist.

At the same time, it is not to be thought that the Liturgy was looked upon as fixed and unchangeable. A large amount of discretion in modifying details was clearly in the hands of every bishop, and was exercised—to mention no less illustrious names—by such great Pontiffs as St. Leo and St. Gregory in Rome, and St. Basil and St. Cyril of Alexandria in the East. The circumstances of the early Church, differing much in various places, are a sufficient explanation of this liberty, which probably existed from the beginning, since the very earliest testimonies we have to the Liturgies imply that there were already local differences. Thus the account in St. Justin corresponds most closely to the Clementine Liturgy; the characteristic features of the Roman Mass may be recognised in Tertullian; and Probst has shown that some of the chief peculiarities of the Alexandrine rite are to be found in Clement and Origen. Sir W. Palmer has very justly remarked that this twofold aspect of the Liturgy—identity of general characters and divergence in details—is the strongest proof of its Apostolic antiquity. "The uniformity between these Liturgies, as extant in the fourth or fifth century, is such as bespeaks a common origin. Their diversity is such as to prove the remoteness of the period at which they were originated."†

The local conditions that produced particular liturgical developments cannot, however, now be estimated. Fortunately, we are able to form a better judgment of those much more important general influences which have moulded the Liturgies into their present shapes; and some account of these is necessary to any understanding of our subject.

1. The "*disciplina arcani*." The early Church, as is well

* Cont. Cels., vi. 40.

† Orig. Liturg., vol. i. p. 80.

known, kept from the heathen, as far as possible, the knowledge of those mysteries of the Faith which were likely to be misunderstood; and only imparted them even to inquirers who were fitted for their reception by the intellectual and moral training of the catechumenate. This reserve applied more urgently to the Holy Eucharist than to any other part of Christian belief or practice. Around it had gathered the most senseless and revolting heathen accusations, of hidden orgies and Thyestean banquets; and it is wonderful to note how the Christians hardly ever attempted more than a simple denial of the atrocities with which they were charged. Nothing can account for their silence, save the knowledge that the miracle wrought on Christian altars would have been unintelligible to the Pagan mind, and would have been received with blasphemous incredulity. Even when St. Justin broke through the rule, we can see that his account of the Holy Sacrifice, though intelligible to us, can have given his non-Christian readers no information as to the essential character of that mystery. Archdeacon Freeman, then, is quite right in assuming that the "*disciplina arcani*" must have played an important part in shaping the Liturgy. But the instances he suggests are conjectural, for there is no evidence that the entrance of the elements or the Lord's Prayer have been moved from the beginning of the service to their present positions. But in one respect the law of reserve, and the catechumenal discipline which was connected with it, have left a deeper mark upon the Mass than any other ecclesiastical condition. I mean, of course, the dismissal of the catechumens after the sermon and before the sacrificial part of the service began; whence the division of every ancient Liturgy into the "*Missa Catechumenorum*" and "*Missa Fidelium*."

2. The penitential discipline of the early Church had the same effect. As is well known, those who were sentenced to public penance had to leave the church after the catechumens and before the "*Missa Fidelium*," with the exception of the *Συστάντες* or "*Consistentes*," who were allowed to assist at the whole of Mass, though not admitted to communion. One Liturgy still in use—that of St. Chrysostom—retains the form of dismissal of the catechumens; and we learn from St. Gregory and St. Ambrose that the deacon proclaimed "*qui non communicatis exite*" in their time in Rome and Milan.* Happily, a Liturgy is extant, though not in use, which shows how the discipline of the Church was carried out; and I can imagine nothing more calculated to impress on our minds the awfulness of those holy mysteries which are now unveiled to us all. In the

* Dial. ii. 23.

Liturgy called the Clementine, which we may on other grounds suppose to be the most ancient,* we have the rubrics of a Mass when the discipline of the early Church was in full vigour. According to this, four classes were excluded from assisting at the Holy Sacrifice—the catechumens; the energumens, or possessed; the “competentes,” φωτιζόμενοι, who had finished their course of instruction and were awaiting baptism; and the penitents. Over each of these classes in turn the deacon pronounced a bidding-prayer calling upon the faithful for their intercession, the people answering, “Kyrie eleison;” they were desired to bow their heads while the celebrant pronounced a prayer over them, and then left the church. The prayer over the penitents will give some idea of this very beautiful part of the service:—

“Almighty eternal God, Lord of the universe, Creator and Governor of all things, who didst through Christ design man to be the ornament of the world, and gavest him an innate law and a written one, that he might live as is reasonable according to Thy precepts, and granted him when he had sinned Thine own goodness as a ground for repentance; look down on those that have bowed their souls and bodies to Thee, for Thou wilt not the death of the sinner, but his repentance, that he may be converted from his evil way and live. Thou that didst receive the repentance of the Ninivites; Thou that wilt all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth; Thou that didst with a fatherly heart receive, because of his repentance, the son that had wasted his substance riotously; do Thou Thyself even now receive the penitence of Thy suppliants; since there is no man that sinneth not before Thee, for if Thou, O Lord, shalt mark iniquities, Lord, who shall abide it? because with Thee there is mercy. And restore them to Thy holy Church in their former repute and honour, through Christ our God and Saviour, through Whom,” &c.

The “Kyrie eleison” before the Gloria of our present Mass seems to me a vestige, directly or indirectly through the Alexandrian Mass, of these prayers. St. Gregory speaks of the Kyrie as in use before his time; it was prescribed in Gaul early in the sixth century; and there is a tradition that St. Silvester introduced it from the East. In the Alexandrian Liturgy there are

* The publication of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, which contains this Liturgy, is put by Drey at the beginning of the fourth century, but the documents it embodies are doubtless much older. I will here only notice the striking similarity between the prayer over the energumens, presently referred to, and St. Justin's language on Possession. It seems impossible to resist Mr. Moultrie's conclusion, that the prayer must have been known to that Father in the middle of the second century.

nine "Kyrie eleisons," divided equally by three prayers which are clearly of later date than the Council of Chalcedon.

3. The relaxation of the discipline of the Church—catechumenal and penitential—probably began soon after persecution ceased, though it was completely effected at different times in various parts of Christendom.*

The disuse of the prayers over the catechumens and penitents left a void which was filled in the Roman Mass by the "Gloria in excelsis," and by the Collects, of which such a wealth is found in the earliest sources.

4. The gradual development of the festivals of the ecclesiastical year led, in the West, to the multiplication of variables to commemorate the several mysteries celebrated, the special Prefaces and additions to the "Communicantes"—at first so numerous—being designed for this purpose. There are indications of variations on different days at a very early period; the different accounts of the Liturgy in the "Didache" and St. Justin are probably thus explained; and we find in Origen that in his day the Scripture was not read through in order, a lesson from Leviticus following one from Isaiah.

5. Finally, the separation between the East and West, which began with Constantine, caused further divergence between the Liturgies. The supremacy of the Holy See led to the gradual substitution of the Roman rite for the Hispano-Gallican, the other great Liturgy of the West. It is well known that the latter survives only in the Mozarabic services which have been perpetuated by the care of Cardinal Ximenes at Toledo. The Gallican rite has been suppressed ever since the ninth century, but it left behind considerable traces in the Uses of mediaeval England, France, and Germany, which were Roman with peculiarities of Hispano-Gallic origin. At the same time the Gallican Liturgy reacted to a less extent on the Roman, some of even the later additions to the Roman Mass being derived from that source. In the East the political supremacy of Constantinople, and its theological orthodoxy at the time of the great heresies bearing on the Incarnation, gave it an ascendancy over the rest of the Orthodox Church, so that all the Liturgies were modified by conformity with the Constantinopolitan. Their earlier forms can, however, be in great part traced by comparing the rites which the Nestorians on the one hand and the Monophysites on the other took with them when they left the Church.

Such are the chief conditions which have produced the Litur-

* Innocent I. speaks of the penitential discipline as long obsolete even in his time; and it is not found even in the oldest Sacramentaries (Funk in Wetzer and Welte's "Kirchenlexicon," s.v. Bussdisciplin).

gies as we now find them. A very summary account of them, with their several characteristics, which I borrow mainly from Mr. Hammond's valuable text-book, will be necessary to make the relations of the Roman Mass to them intelligible.

The Oriental Liturgies, in the first place, are distinguished from Western ones by having no variable parts except the lections and subordinate hymns. The Eastern ones may be divided into the following groups, the distinctive mark chosen by liturgiologists being the position of the Intercession for the Living and the Dead :—

1. In the *West Syrian* group this is placed after the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, which in the Eastern Liturgies follows the words of Institution. The earliest Liturgy known of this type is called the "Greek St. James," which seems to be descended from the Clementine, noticed above, with several changes to bring it into conformity with the rite of Constantinople. It has in turn been the parent, on the one hand, of the numerous Liturgies used by the Syrian Jacobites, and, on the other, of the Liturgy of St. Basil, which there is some ground for connecting with that saint.

Later modifications of the same Liturgy are the Armenian and that named after St. Chrysostom. The latter is the usual Mass of the Greek Church, the Liturgy of St. Basil being said on the Sundays in Lent and a few other days. This group corresponds roughly in its original extent with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

2. The *East Syrian* family seems to have grown up in the Patriarchate of Antioch ; it is now used only by the Nestorians. The Malabar Liturgy, used by the Christians of St. Thomas in India until the Portuguese conquest, belongs to this family, the distinguishing mark of which is the position of the Intercession between the words of Institution and the Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

3. The *Alexandrian* group is marked by the prominent place assigned to the deacon in the Office, and the position of the Intercession in the middle of the Preface. The earliest extant document of this family is the Greek Liturgy known as "St. Mark's," which has evidently been modified under the influence of Constantinople, and represents the rite followed by the few orthodox Christians who remained in Egypt after the Monophysites broke off from the Church. The Liturgies which these took with them, and still use, enable us to form a clear idea of what was the Alexandrian norm at the time of the Council of Chalcedon in the middle of the fifth century. These Liturgies are : two used by the Copts, St. Basil's and St. Cyril's, and the Ethiopic, which is the Mass of the Monophysites of Abyssinia.

Turning to the Western Liturgies, the most striking peculiarity of the *Hispano-Gallic* family is the precise opposite of the Oriental Liturgies—the great abundance of variable elements. Not only do the Collects and Prefaces change with every holiday, but the greater part of the prayers corresponding to our Canon vary also. In other respects its affinities are with the Eastern Liturgies rather than with the Roman; for example, the Kiss of Peace comes before the Anaphora; there are “Preces” like the Deacon’s Litany of the Orientals; and the exclamation “*Sancta Sanctis*” comes after the Consecration. The origin of this Liturgy is still rather a *crux* to liturgiologists. Since Sir W. Palmer’s researches, it has been generally believed in this country that it is derived from a type which prevailed in Asia Minor before the Council of Laodicea in the fourth century. The Abbé Duchesne,* however, takes a different view. He urges that the very highly developed character of the Hispano-Gallic rite points to its importation from the East at a much later date than the first or second century; and that the Church of Lyons had, after that time, not the ascendancy in Gaul which would be required to account for the wide diffusion of the rite. He prefers to think it was introduced directly into Milan from the East by the Arianising Bishop Auxentius about the middle of the fourth century, and spread thence over Gaul and Spain. As far as I can judge with my much more limited knowledge, I am unable to follow him in this. I can hardly doubt that the Liturgy was sufficiently developed in its main structure in the time of St. Irenaeus to allow of its transference from Asia Minor to Gaul, as a tradition of great antiquity† asserted. On the other hand, it is exceedingly improbable that a Liturgy could have been brought in so late, and under such unsatisfactory auspices, and have sup-

* “*Origines du Culte chrétien*” (Paris: Thorin), chap. iii. This learned work has appeared since I began to write on this subject, or I should have had frequent occasion to refer to it. It is devoted to describing the Western Liturgies from the fourth to the ninth century, and the production of the present Mass by their fusion. I cannot too warmly recommend it to all who wish for more than the very brief account which is all I have been able to give of this stage of Liturgical evolution.

† I refer, of course, to the fragment of an Irish MS. in Spelman’s “*Concilia*,” i. p. 177, assigned by that antiquary to the date 681 or 682. As the extract which Palmer gives suppresses the first part, in which the early prevalence of the Roman rite in Southern Gaul is stated, I give a longer quotation:—“*B. Trofimius Ep. Arelatensis, et S. Photinus martyr, discipulus S. Petri in Gallia, sicut et refert Iosephus et Eusebius, cursum Romanum in Galliis tradiderunt. . . . B. Ireneum Clemens ordinavit; hoc in libro ipsius S. Irenei reperies. . . . Ioannes Evangelista primum cursum Gallorum cantavit; inde postea B. Polycarpus discipulus S. Ioannis; inde postea Ireneus qui fuit Episcopus Lugdunensis, tertius ipse ipsum cursum decantavit in Galleis.*”

planted those which had then been long in possession of the West. It is, however, very likely that some of the details of this rite may have been so imported from the East; it is certainly difficult to account for them otherwise.

Finally, the *Roman* Liturgy is distinguished from all others by the separation of the Intercession into two parts, the Prayer for the Living being said before the Consecration, and that for the Dead after it. This is also the only Liturgy which puts the Pax after the Consecration. The Mass of the ancient Church of Africa was doubtless closely allied to that of Rome. There has been more doubt concerning the Ambrosian Liturgy; but the general opinion is that it was an early offshoot of the Roman, with a few traces of Oriental and Gallican influences.

Many of the Liturgies I have briefly mentioned are now obsolete, and our knowledge of them is based upon one or two manuscripts only. Moreover, the development even of those which are still in use, such as the Roman in the West and St. Chrysostom's in the East, can only be studied by going back to the earliest documents which have preserved them. In the case of the Roman Liturgy these have been rendered accessible and edited critically by the great scholars of past generations, from Thomasius to Daniel, though it is more than probable that a fresh collation of the original texts would yield results of interest and importance. But the Greek Liturgies have, strangely enough, never been examined critically since their first publication in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries until Dr. Swainson took them in hand. His edition demands, and would well repay, a detailed notice; I can here only give the shortest summary of the results of his careful and competent labours.

It is clear that many more changes have been made in the course of time in even the oldest Liturgies extant than had been generally suspected. "We must look to the Anaphora in each, commencing with the Apostolic Benediction and ending with the Lord's Prayer, as containing the only ancient parts of the service."* The earlier part of the Mass, of course, in each instance, contains much of great antiquity; but so many changes of position and so many additions have been made that no part is to be regarded as ancient without independent evidence. Thus, the Greek St. James, which has been looked upon as the most primitive rite by many scholars, is (according to Dr. Swainson) not older in its present form than the seventh century, and is clearly much indebted to other Liturgies.† Again, the growth of the

* Swainson's "Greek Liturgies," p. xlii.

† Thus, I have already mentioned that the *ἡμῖν* in the Commemoration of the Institution, which Dr. Neale regarded as denoting the authorship of an Apostle for St. James, turns out to be a very late addition.

Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom may be to a great extent traced, the pro-Anaphoral parts having been combined and recast between the eighth and eleventh centuries; and we are also informed that the preparatory prayers are considerably later still. We also learn that the name of St. John Chrysostom was in the earliest MS. given only to two of the prayers in this Liturgy, whence it must have spread to the whole. It will not be thought that I refer to this evidence of the changes which time has wrought in the Oriental Liturgies as derogating in the least from the value of these venerable rites. Immobility in the public worship of the Church, as in every other matter, is only a sign of death, and the beauty of the Liturgy is enhanced by traces of the piety of successive generations. Yet Dr. Swainson's results are of great importance as showing that the verbal antiquity of the Eastern Liturgies cannot be pressed. The belief that considerable portions of them are word for word the same as in the days of the Apostles appeals with seductive force to the imagination, and has also, I fear, been exaggerated in order to suggest by implication that the Roman Mass is less primitive; but it will not bear examination.

I now turn to the history of the Roman Mass alone, and it will be convenient that I should first give a short account of the oldest documents containing it, to which I shall frequently need to refer.

1. The most ancient is a Sacramentary discovered by Blanchini at Verona, and attributed by him to St. Leo the Great; but most authorities differ from him, and ascribe it, with Muratori and the Ballerini, to an unknown Roman ecclesiastic of the time of Felix III. (483). It contains only variable parts of the Mass—Collects, Prefaces, Post-communions, and Benedictions—and is, unfortunately, mutilated, beginning with April. The very disorder and incompleteness of the collection is a strong proof of its antiquity, and that it must have been compiled before any order had been introduced into these parts of the Mass.

2. The Gelasian Sacramentary is derived from the comparison of various MSS. published by Cardinal Thomasius and Gerbert, which date from the eighth to the tenth century. There seems no reasonable doubt that the greater part of the Canon and variables they contain are the recension of Pope Gelasius (492), who, as we know independently, revised the Liturgy.* This collection is much more orderly in its arrangement than the preceding one; it contains two Collects for every Sunday and a

* Anastasius says of him, "*Fecit sacramentorum praelectiones et orationes cauto sermone;*" and Walafridus, "*Preces tam a se quam ab aliis compositas dicitur ordinasse.*"

large number of special Prefaces and additions to the Canon. M. Duchesne points out that Thomasius' MS. must have been brought into France about the seventh century, that it contains many Gallican peculiarities, and probably belonged originally to the celebrated Abbey of St. Denis.

3. St. Gregory the Great, at the end of the sixth century, revised the Liturgy—"multa subtrahens, pauca convertens, nonnulla superadiciens" (Joan. Diac.)—and practically reduced the Canon of the Mass to its present form, making the last addition to it ("diesque nostros . . . numerari"), and placing the "Pater noster" immediately after the Canon. He omitted most of the special Prefaces and additions to the Canon given in the earlier Sacramentaries, reduced the number of Collects to one, and rearranged them all. M. Duchesne gives reasons for believing that the Gregorian Sacramentary, as it has reached us, dates from the time of Hadrian I. (about 790), to whom Charlemagne applied for the Roman Mass, which he wished to introduce into his empire.

In order to arrive at some idea of the Mass in its earliest form, we had best start from it as we have it now, and note all the additions of any importance that have been made, with their sources and dates. We shall find that the chief alterations that took place in the later Middle Ages were the gradual addition of prayers, which can be traced back for many centuries in France and Germany, though they were at first only local and optional. The latest are the Gospel of St. John, at the end of the Mass, and the Psalm "Iudica," at the beginning, both of which were introduced into the Roman Missal at the revision of St. Pius V. But the former had been for some time recited in many dioceses; and the latter is found in many mediæval Missals, being probably derived from the Gallican Liturgy. It was generally recited as the celebrant went from the sacristy to the altar, but was recommended by Innocent III. to be said as at present. The "Domine non sum dignus" is of about the same date; it is found in at least one mediæval Missal, but was not in general use until the end of the sixteenth century. It must, however, have been recognised as an appropriate prayer before Communion from very early times, for it is recommended as such by Origen.* The three prayers after the "Agnus Dei" are all ancient, but did not come into general use until the end of the Middle Ages. The third prayer ("Perceptio corporis Tui") is probably the oldest; it alone is found in the Good Friday Mass, and it is closely similar to the prayer before Communion in almost all the Oriental Liturgies.

* Hom. vi. in Evang.

The "Confiteor" was inserted at the beginning of Mass in the eleventh century. There is, however, reason to suppose that a confession was made by the priest before the Offertory at least as early as St. Augustine's day, and it would seem from the "Didache" to have formed part of the Liturgy in sub-Apostolic times.

There were no fixed prayers at the Offertory until the twelfth century, the priest before then making the offering in silence, with the exception of the "Oratio super oblata," or Secret. Those now contained in the Missal were derived from the Hispano-Gallic rite, the "Offerimus" and "In spiritu" from the Gallican, the "Suscipe" and "Veni sanctificator" apparently directly from the Mozarabic. The last is particularly interesting, as containing the Invocation of the Holy Ghost; it originally contained the words "Sancte Spiritus," and even in Le Brun's time the "Veni s. Spiritus, reple tuorum corda" or the "Veni Creator" was recited in its stead in some churches in France.

The two prayers after Communion were also added in the Middle Ages, though somewhat earlier than the offertory prayers. They first occur as Post-communions in the Missale Gothicum of the eighth century.

About the same time the latter part of the "Orate fratres" was added by way of explanation, the request for the prayers of the people being older. Other responses were made in various places, such as "Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi" (also used in Greek Liturgies), or "Memor sit Dominus sacrificii tui."

The "Agnus Dei" is considerably more ancient, having been introduced by Sergius I. in 680; but the ending "dona nobis pacem" is later, having been brought in, according to Innocent III., at a time of special trouble in the Church. The use of the "Gloria in excelsis" on Sundays and holydays by priests must be also mediæval, since the Gregorian Sacramentary only permits this to bishops, others saying it on Easter Sunday only.*

If John the Deacon's authority, three hundred years later, is to be accepted, St. Gregory drew up the Introits, Offertories, and Communions very much as we have them now, being abridgments of the Psalms originally sung by the choir on the entrance into the church, while the gifts were being placed on the altar, and while Communion was being given. I shall return to these later; meanwhile it may be remarked that we have one survival of the long Offertory in the Mass for the Dead, where probably it was retained because the custom of offering

* The rubric "Sic dicitur etiam in Missis B.V.M." which has given rise to inquiry, is to exclude the mediæval additions to the "Gloria" in Masses "de Beata."

lingered longer than in other Masses. The principal change concerning the Introit, Offertory, and Communion during the period we are now studying was that the celebrant came to recite these parts of the service, which were at first choral; I suppose the custom began with private Masses, and extended thence to all. It may be well to remark that liturgiologists believe the "Oremus" before the Offertory did not originally belong to that prayer, but to one before the unveiling of the chalice, still preserved as the "*oratio super sindonem*" in the Ambrosian rite. The Creed was first brought into the Mass in the West by the third Council of Toledo in 589, whence it spread into France and Germany to exclude the Adoptianist heresy in the eighth century. It occupies the same position in the Oriental Liturgies as in our Mass; but the Mozarabic rite puts it after the Consecration, and during the Fraction.

We can now form a tolerably accurate conception of the Ordinary of the Mass as it must have been in St. Gregory's day. A Psalm or part of one was sung by the choir on the entrance of the celebrant, who then said the Collect. The Epistle followed, separated from the Gospel by a Psalm, represented by our Gradual or Tract; and after the Gospel came the sermon, and the withdrawal of those who had no right to assist at the Holy Sacrifice. The choir sung a Psalm while the faithful brought their offering, the celebrant making the oblation in silence, and ending with the Secret. Then came the Preface and Canon, as at present, followed by the Lord's Prayer, the Fraction, and the Kiss of Peace. The celebrant and faithful then received Communion, a Psalm being sung meanwhile; and the Mass was concluded by a variable Post-communion and a "*Benedictio super populum*."

It will be remarked that none of the alterations and additions I have enumerated affect the Canon. This most important part of the Mass remains now word for word the same as it was when St. Gregory revised it 1300 years ago. Two changes have indeed been made since then, but neither has affected the verbal identity of the Canon in all that time. The first is, the addition of the Elevation, after the Consecration, as a protest against the heresy of Berengarius in France in the eleventh century. The Elevation of the Greek Liturgies appears to correspond more to what has been called the "*lesser elevation*" at the end of the Canon. The other change is at the conclusion of the Canon. It seems from the Gelasian Sacramentary that the words "*Per quem haec omnia . . . praestas nobis*" were originally the end of a Benediction of the new fruits of the spring. Many mediæval Missals, too, direct that bread, oil, and other things should be blessed at this part of the Mass, so that the custom of doing so

must have long prevailed. This appears to give the original meaning of the words "*haec omnia bona*" and "*creas*," though there is no doubt that—as Le Brun urges—they are now very fitly applied to the Blessed Sacrament. Even these exceptions, it will be seen, do not touch the words of the Canon, which remains the same now as when it left the hands of St. Gregory. Nothing further would be needed to justify the measured language of the Council of Trent. It was there laid down (Sess. xxii. cap. 4) that "the Church instituted the holy Canon of the Mass many centuries ago," and that "it consists of the very words of our Lord, of the traditions of the Apostles, and of the devout institutions of holy Pontiffs." We can now, however, trace the main order and structure of the Roman Liturgy, and even part of its language, to a much earlier period; and this is what I propose to do next.

J. R. GASQUET.

ART. IV.—TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

"I agree most heartily with you that the great curse which withers our people, the pestilence which is devouring them, is drunkenness. I feel that to labour to put it down is our duty; and I am convinced that to put it down legislation is absolutely necessary."—*Speech of Cardinal Manning at a meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester.*

THE reawakening of interest in the Temperance question is unquestionably one of the most remarkable signs of our times. Its indications are everywhere around us; and if we read them aright, they mean that it is becoming generally felt that the Drink Curse—as it has come to be called—must be set down as one of the worst evils of our time, and one of the most threatening dangers of our country. Within the Church, as well as among the sects outside, the interest is felt alike; in Parliament and in the country it is the same, in pulpit and platform, in magazine and daily paper no subject receives more earnest or more constant attention. The drink traffic, in countries so distant as India and Africa, has recently been engaging the attention of our legislature. Some of our leading journals* have been devoting their columns for weeks and months together to an exhaustive discussion of the question; and we have heard grave statesmen speaking a language, which almost seems to

* See *Freeman's Journal*, October 1889.

savour of the enthusiasm of the temperance lecturer. "Drink, drink"—says one—"the only terrible enemy England has to fear."* While another adds: "I have always said that the temperance movement in this country is the greatest movement, the most far-reaching and deep-seated movement, since the great anti-slavery time."†

But last, and most important of all, comes the voice of God's Church. Writing from the Maynooth Synod, the bishops of Ireland some fifteen years ago addressed to their people the following solemn and eloquent words:—

But there are other dangers against which we must raise our warning voice. With deepest pain, and after the example of the Apostle, weeping, we say that the abominable vice of intemperance still continues to work dreadful havoc among our people, marring in their souls the work of religion, and, in spite of their rare natural and supernatural virtues, changing many among them into "enemies of the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction; whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame." To drunkenness we may refer as to its baneful cause almost all the crime by which the country is disgraced, and much of the poverty from which it suffers. Drunkenness has wrecked more homes, once happy, than ever fell beneath the crowbar in the worse days of eviction; it has filled more graves, and made more widows and orphans, than did the famine; it has broken more hearts, blighted more hopes, and rent asunder family ties more ruthlessly than the enforced exile, to which their misery has condemned emigrants.

The Lambeth Conference of two years ago supplies an evidence of a similar kind for the Protestant Church; for in what was called its "Encyclical Letter," the very first subject treated was that of temperance.

To the friends of temperance all this is a subject of congratulation. What they desire is light. To their thinking the evil is there, and an evil so widespread and appalling, that it needs only to direct public attention to convince us of our danger, and to unite us for self-defence. To them the "signs of the times," to which we have just referred, are therefore healthy and hopeful, as well as unmistakable and universal. In looking around for a remedy, they are reminded that "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety,"‡ and they will welcome with joy every new contribution to the discussion of the question. We must not be taken, however, as acquiescing in all that has been written by temperance reformers—much that common sense as well as sound teaching must condemn is often spoken by them; indeed, before

* Late Duke of Albany.

† Mr. J. Morley's speech at the Eighty Club, November 1889.

‡ Proverbs.

touching our subject, we find ourselves confronted by a fallacy sometimes heard in their midst.

To make the people temperate is not the business of the Legislature. Law cannot do it, nor bolts, nor bars; it is the work of religion and education; it will follow in the wake of the social amelioration of the masses, to which we should first of all direct attention: you must "assert power over the hearts and souls and imaginations of the people." Now all this is true, or, to speak more accurately, there is some truth in it all. It is the work of religion in the first place. Drunkenness is a sin, and as a sin we must combat and conquer it. As a sin it must be combated by God's grace, and grace is to come to us through the appointed channels. All that is true. The Church must take the chief part in the work; education will help, and the social improvement of the masses. But does it follow that there is nothing left to be done by the laws of the land? By no means. As in most such matters, so in this: both Church and State have each to do; and it is to the discharge of the duties of both that we may look for an adequate remedy for the evil. The Church, by its legislation, its sacraments and associations, can do much, but a sad and daily experience proves that it cannot do all, and that its beneficent action is often nullified or thwarted by that of the State. The latter, however, has its duty, too; a duty intimately touching its own end and interests; but its discharge of that duty may range from a most effective and necessary support of the action of the Church, to a thwarting and, to a certain extent, nullifying the same. No one who takes part in the great temperance movement of our time will need to be convinced of this: we insist upon it here only because we are constantly and painfully reminded that herein is to be found the reason why the efforts of the Church and of religious organizations have not hitherto been blessed with a larger measure of success. The words which we have set at the head of this paper as a text—and they are the words of one who of all living men can speak with authority—would suffice for most of our readers. There are, however, other words of his still more decisive. In his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1868, he stated, *inter alia*: "The legislature has multiplied the facilities and temptations to drunkenness." In reply to a question as to whether the housing of the poor was not a more urgent matter for legislation than the temperance question, he said: "No, I think not. I think that in the order of time, this is the more urgent; and I think that in the order of moral mischief, this is the more vital." If words like these needed corroboration it would be forthcoming, from great statesmen in the past, one of whom declared long ago that "every day's experience tends more and more to confirm me

in my opinion that the temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reform;"* or again, in the words of a statesman no less distinguished, and who is still happily among us: † "A government should so legislate, as to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong."

The history of legislation on the subject of drink and its traffic in those countries is a long one; it is by no means an inviting study, for the word Failure is "large writ" across it all; but a glance at it will serve our present purpose. That purpose is to show that all our legislative efforts for the past three hundred years have failed, because they have been in the wrong direction; that what may be called our Drink Laws are, at the present moment, nearly as bad as they could be; that we must attempt something more drastic if our legislation is to succeed in the time to come; that Parliament has on different occasions accepted the principle of Local Control, and that it is the right of the people to claim, and the plain duty of Government to grant, some measure by which the people themselves, who best know their own wants and dangers, shall, by power of the law of the land, have the means of self-protection in their own hands. Whoever looks at any manual of our law will not fail to notice the extraordinary number of enactments on this subject of drink and its traffic which have been placed on the statute book. A little closer inspection will reveal the fact, still more worthy of notice, viz., that nearly all have aimed at regulating or restricting that traffic. To hedge it around, to make it harmless, and even respectable—this was the will-o'-the-wisp that our law-givers seemed ever to be following for those long centuries. Often the preamble of the fresh Act proclaimed the failure of all preceding measures of the same kind; but from such admissions the only logical conclusion drawn was the venerable saw—Try again. To illustrate what we mean a few instances will suffice. So early as the tenth century we find the law attempting to restrain the evil, A.D. 995. In the reign of Edward I. it was enacted "that taverns should not be opened for the sale of wine and beer after the tolling of the curfew." In that of Edward III. a law was passed which permitted only three public-houses in London! Verily we have been advancing since then. Passing down a long list, we come to our own century, and we find the legislature as busy as ever. In 1825 we come to an Act which—whatever the intentions of its makers—gave a great impetus to the distillation and sale of intoxicating drink; in 1828 a Licensing Act; in 1830 a Beer Act, and so on down to 1872, when an important Licensing Act (Bruce's) became law. Later on, in 1874, there was

* Cobden.

† Gladstone.

another of the same kind, and, we believe, a modification of its immediate predecessor of 1872. We might prolong the list almost indefinitely, but it will be more instructive to ask what was the effect of this legislation. There was a steady and, in the end, an alarming increase of the use of intoxicating drinks, as well as of the misery and crime which inevitably followed. Let us go back a few years, to a time which was untouched by Sunday Closing Acts,* and to render our calculations the more reliable, let us count by decades, rather than by years. For the ten years immediately preceding 1850 our annual drink bill was seventy-one millions sterling (£71,000,000). Thence to 1860 it was £81,000,000—an increase of a million a year! From that to 1870 it amounted to £102,000,000. Finally, during the ensuing decade, up to 1880, it rose to £136,000,000. And what has this vast annual expenditure purchased? is a question to be answered, if we would give due weight to those figures. Reason, as well as economy, demands that expenditure should produce some benefit to the individual or the community, or to both. What has this produced? Gain to one, and loss to millions; and to the State a heritage of poverty and crime, pauperism and lunacy, together with extra charges on rates and taxes, &c. Nor was this the only fruit of the traffic, nor the only reward of the labours of our legislators. Statistics began to appear from the prison and the reformatory, from the asylum and from the work-house, and the tale they told was far more appalling still. The judge and magistrate told of their experiences from the bench, and the priest from his pulpit, till at length the public, or at least its *sanior pars*, came to see that the drink traffic had become the scourge of the nation, and that to meet the difficulty other methods should be adopted than multiplying drink-shops throughout the land.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we should not omit to observe that there were some of those Licensing Acts passed by the support of friends of the temperance cause, and with the avowed purpose of furthering its interests. But the results—and nothing shows more conclusively the futility of such measures than this—were not alone disappointing; they were the very opposite of those that had been expected. We may take as instances, the Grocers' Licensing Act, passed by Mr. Gladstone "in the interests of temperance"; or the Wellington Beer Act, supported by many who had hoped that beer would take the place of ardent spirits. Few will now maintain that such hopes have been justified; very many hold that such Acts have been worse than failures. The licensed grocery establishment

* It was only Scotland which had Sunday closing so early as this, the Forbes Mackenzie Act having passed in 1854.

has become a training school for those who are yet too respectable to go to the dram-shop, and especially for women; and men have not found it necessary to abandon ardent spirits, in favour of beer; if indeed they have not been led to a liking for the former by the constant use of the latter.

Having said so much about our Legislature, it is only right that we should add a word on the Executive. The working of the licensing laws is practically in the hands of the magistrates; and we have no difficulty in adding that in this capacity—we speak, of course, of the country with which we are most familiar—the Licensing Justices, as they are called, have been tried and found wanting. For one writing from this side of the water, it is hard to avoid using language that will appear harsh and unmeasured. But we are persuaded that in this matter the magistrates of Ireland, at least, have incurred a frightful responsibility; and that to their action in multiplying public-houses, to an extent that to some must appear absolutely illegal, and to all unaccountable, must be attributed a very large percentage of the crimes that have disgraced this country, and which, on the best authority, are traceable to drunkenness. The Licensing Acts are practically Permissive Acts; they put the power of permitting or forbidding in the hands of a local body; and had that body done its duty, crimes, that no man can number, would have been prevented, and we need not be agitating for direct popular veto now. If we understand aright, the system in its origin meant that the *wants* of the public would be supplied, and it was given to the licensing justices to determine what that meant in practice; or, in other words, what number of houses, if any, were to be licensed in a given locality. What is the principle that guides the action of these justices as a matter of fact? We do not know, nor do we think it ever can be stated in intelligible terms; but certain it is, that it has nothing to do with the *wants* of the public. Some years ago the world seemed to be puzzled by the same question, and Sir W. Lawson asked in the House of Commons what magistrates had to consider before granting licences? Lord Selborne replied they had to consider—1st, the fitness of the man; 2nd, the fitness of the house; and 3rd, *the wants of the neighbourhood*. Have they considered these very practical points? and if not, is it not time to find another local body which may be relied upon to do so? And we may add here, in passing, that the conviction is gradually forcing itself on many minds that it is the *people* of each locality that should have themselves the power to determine, in this all-important matter, what are the *wants* of the locality.

It has been established, on incontrovertible evidence, that drunkenness increases with the multiplication of public-houses;

and, with that evidence before them, or with a culpable ignorance of it, the magistrates of this country have been multiplying them year after year, till a stranger visiting Ireland for the first time will be struck with nothing more than the number of drink-shops to be seen in every town, and village, and hamlet, and will come to the conclusion that there must be no legal control, and no practical limit as to the number of such establishments.

It has been said that our legislatures had almost exclusively, and for centuries, confined their attention to Licensing Acts. Occasionally, however, the monotony was broken; and something more drastic was attempted or called for. At times of great distress, and generally on like emergencies, the distillation of spirits was prohibited. This happened in 1556; again in 1690, owing to the scarcity of grain, which was needed for food; and again from 1757 to 1760 for a similar cause. A similar temporary prohibition was repeated in 1796-97. Writing of the last prohibition, Colquhoun (*"Treatise on Police of London"*) says:

It is a curious and important fact, that during the period when the distilleries were stopped in 1796-97, though bread and every necessary of life were considerably higher than during the preceding year, the poor were apparently more comfortable, paid their rents more regularly, and were better fed, than at any period for some years before, even though they had not had the benefit of the extensive charities which were distributed in 1795.*

But such testimonies were of no avail. When the emergency had passed, our legislatures removed the prohibition as a source of revenue—as a writer naïvely adds, "often for war purposes." It reminds us forcibly of another kind of conversion, under suspicious circumstances:—

The Devil was sick, the Devil a monk would be,
The Devil was well, the Devil a monk was he.

RABELAIS.

Often, too, during those centuries, voices saying, "Save us, we perish," were heard from the people, and Governments were reminded of the duty which they were neglecting. In Ireland, as well as in England, there were frequent petitions from public bodies, followed by debates in the House of Commons; there were Committees appointed to consider the subject; but the result was hardly ever more than strong resolutions. It was a struggle between duty and patriotism on the one hand, and policy and revenue on the other, and in the struggle—let it be said in

* *Vide* "Temperance League's Annual," paper by Mr. Malins on "Brit. Restrictive and Local Option Legislation," which was read at Temperance League Conference at Exeter, September 1889.

truth, though, at the same time in humiliation—the latter interests generally prevailed. The following petition from the Grand Jury of the City of Dublin was presented to Parliament in 1785. It is remarkable, not alone for its rather strong phraseology, but for the fact that it seems to point to the remedy which we are still hoping for :—

Idleness, profligacy, and outrages, are to be attributed to selling spirits, which is, therefore, become a DANGEROUS NUISANCE, and being authorized by law, can be corrected only by the Legislature. . . . the temptation to indulge therein being offered in every street, by the multitude of dram-shops and public-houses licensed for this purpose, they (the people) soon become weak, diseased, and disabled, unfit for labour, useless to the State, and burthensome to the community. THAT NEITHER THE LAWS NOW SUBSISTING for the suppression of vice, and the maintenance of order, nor the authority and exertions of the magistrates—NOR ANY FUTURE LAWS that may be enacted for these good purposes,—WILL HAVE ANY MATERIAL EFFECT, SO LONG AS THIS PERNICIOUS PRACTICE IS PERMITTED TO EXIST.

The Lords' Committee on Intemperance in 1878, from which our legislation on the subject is likely to date a new departure, made an important report, from which the following is an abstract :—

When great communities, deeply sensible of the miseries caused by intemperance ; witnesses of the crime and pauperism which directly spring from it ; conscious of the contamination to which their younger citizens are exposed ; watching with grave anxiety the growth of female intemperance on a scale so vast, and at a rate of progression so rapid, as to constitute a new reproach and new danger ; believing that not only the morality of their citizens, but their commercial prosperity, is dependent upon the diminution of these evils ; seeing also that all that general legislation has been able to affect has been some improvement in public order, while it has been powerless to produce any perceptible decrease of intemperance, it would seem somewhat hard when such communities are willing, at their own cost and hazard, to grapple with the difficulty, and undertake their own purification, that the Legislature should refuse to create for them the necessary machinery, or to entrust them with the necessary powers.

These last words naturally bring us to the part of our subject with which we are most concerned—to the measures on which the hearts of temperance reformers in these countries seem now to be set. First, however, a passing word on Sunday Closing. The Scotch Sunday Closing Act (Forbes Mackenzie Act) became law in 1854 ; the Irish, in 1878, this latter exempting Dublin, Belfast, Limerick, Waterford, and Cork, in which places sale was, however, restricted to the hours between two o'clock P.M. and seven o'clock P.M. The principle of Sunday closing is that

of State Prohibition ; and hence the importance attached to the witness which the working of those Acts gave, friends and enemies trying to manipulate figures so as to suit themselves. Before extending the same principle, or even the somewhat kindred one, of Direct Popular Veto, men would surely ask what had been the results of the tentative measure of Sunday Closing. We refer now to the two Acts just mentioned ; and, speaking generally, we say that each has been a great and unqualified success. In some places the results may not have been—and they were not—so satisfactory ; but this is neither strange nor peculiar to those laws. No wisdom in the legislature is a match for *laissez-faire* in the executive ; and where the local magistracy were careless or hostile, and the police, as a consequence, lukewarm or worse, it was only to be expected that Sunday closing should become a dead letter. If we were to study and analyze the facts and figures relating to the working of Sunday closing at length, we should have a subject wide enough for a separate paper, and at the present moment an interesting subject it would be ; but for the present we cannot cumber our pages with extracts or many figures. With regard to Scotland, suffice it to say that its spirit consumption is 25 per cent. less now than before Sunday closing, and that immediately after the passing of the Act there was a large and evident *decrease* in that consumption, notwithstanding an *increase* in the population at the same time !* We now come to the Irish Act. Passing over very striking figures, and statements from public men, which no special pleading could possibly get over, we find from a Parliamentary return, the very latest and most authentic information. It treats of arrests for drunkenness on Sundays up to eight o'clock A.M. on Mondays, and covers from May 1, 1888, to April 30, 1889. In the five partially exempted cities the arrests were 2352 ; all the rest of Ireland, which enjoys complete Sunday closing, gives a total of only 3395. Comparatively this meant about one arrest in the exempted parts to five in the partially exempted cities ; in one case there was an arrest for every 1326 persons, in the other one arrest to every 280 persons !† It will be observed that we say nothing of the Welsh Sunday closing. On that subject the Report of the Parliamentary Commission will be the latest and most reliable authority ; but we will venture to observe, that if this Act has indeed, in places, failed to produce the undoubted blessings which similar Acts have manifestly produced elsewhere, that result

* See paper already quoted, " Brit. Restrictive and Local Option Legislation."

† See " National Temperance League Annual," p. 113.

must be traced to some causes of a local or other special character.*

So much for Licensing Acts and Sunday Closing Acts. The time came, however, when public opinion, as well as temperance reformers, called for something more drastic than the one, and something of more extended application than the other, as we shall now see.

Mr. Lawson introduced his Permissive Bill in 1864. It was "A Bill to enable owners and occupiers of property in certain districts to prevent the common sale of intoxicating liquors within such district." It would give to the ratepayers of a parish the power to say, by a majority of at least two to one, that the sale of such drinks was in that parish illegal. The Bill passed a first reading; its progress, however, for many years afterwards was slow, if not discouraging. But the history of minorities, some one has said, is a history of victories; and the able and indefatigable advocate-in-chief of the good cause was not easily discouraged. The Bill had a powerful support; Cardinal Manning, among others, if we mistake not, accepting its principle in some of his great annual pronouncements at the Crystal Palace. In the House, however, it was annually introduced, only to be defeated by large majorities, and in 1879 Mr. Lawson resolved on a change of tactics, and, thinking it better to proceed by way of resolution, he introduced his Local Option Resolution. The change was one rather of policy than of principle, for the Resolution embodied the principle of the Permissive Bill, the difference between them being chiefly this—that while the Bill gave power to the inhabitants to declare Yes or No as to the sale of intoxicating drink in their midst, Local Option would, beyond that, give them power to *control*, if they did not wish to *abolish*, that traffic. Since 1879 the cause has been steadily advancing in and out of the House, till we find a high authority in the State recently declaring that the temperance party are "the most powerful and the most moral

* While this paper was being printed, we have been enabled, through the kindness of the Editor, to see a summary of the Report of the Welsh Commissioners. Without attempting any detailed analysis of the document, we think we may claim that it is of the character which we have ventured to foreshadow, and which was as much as the friends of the measure had expected. Those who had been looking forward to an unfavourable finding, and even to repeal of the Act as a probable outcome—those and only those are destined to a bitter disappointment. In some places the measure has done well; elsewhere, and notably in towns where public opinion was hostile, it has been partially or entirely a failure. We think all this accords well with the principles we have been insisting on. It goes to show—and it is only a fresh illustration—that in such questions it is eminently essential that legislation shall follow, and not go in advance of, public opinion; hence the necessity of "creating and fostering" such public opinion.

since the days of that which fought against slavery." To indicate its rapid advance, as well as the position it now holds, two facts will suffice. The first that the principle of Local Option—or, as we now prefer to say, Direct Popular Veto—has in some way been accepted by the two great parties in the State; the second, that the Resolution itself has been carried in the House of Commons on three several occasions, and with ever-increasing majorities.

The "Local Option Resolution," moved by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., and seconded by Hugh Mason, Esq., in the House of Commons, on June 18, 1880, runs as follows:—

"That, inasmuch as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquor is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, this House is of opinion that a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves—who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system by some efficient measure of Local Option."

The numbers voting on June 18, 1880, were (including tellers and 14 pairs)—

For the Resolution	245
Against	219

Majority for the Resolution 26

The motion, as moved by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., and seconded by Thos. Burt., Esq., on June 14, 1881, in the House of Commons, runs as follows:—

"That in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to give legislative effect to the Resolution passed on the 18th day of June 1880, which affirms the justice of local communities being entrusted with the power to protect themselves from the operations of the liquor traffic."

The numbers voting on June 14, 1881, were (including tellers and 33 pairs)—

For the Motion	231
Against	189

Majority for the Resolution 42

The motion, as moved by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Bart., seconded by W. S. Caine, Esq., on April 27, 1883, and as accepted by the Government, runs as follows:—

"That the best interests of the nation urgently require some efficient measure of legislation, by which, in accordance with the Resolution already passed and reaffirmed by this House, a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors may be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves."

The numbers voting on April 27, 1883, were (including tellers and 34 pairs)—

For the Motion	264
Against	177

Majority for the Resolution	87
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We are aware, of course, of the difference between such Resolutions and Acts of Parliament; but if there is any meaning in Constitutional Government, no one can deny that great weight must attach to figures such as those. As to the second fact, Sir William Harcourt, when Home Secretary, in 1883, accepted the principle of Local Option on behalf of the Liberal Government. "It was my duty in 1883 to declare, on behalf of the Government of that day, their adhesion to the principle of Local Option. . . . I adhere entirely, without modification, to what I then stated on behalf of the Government. We desire that the local authorities should have complete control over the drink traffic; that the locality should determine what houses should be licensed, whether any or none at all, or how many." After referring to the question of areas, stating his opinion that the smaller the better, and suggesting the parish as probably as good as any other, he adds in the same speech—we quote from a speech delivered in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, October 9, 1888—the pregnant words—words, too, so very eloquent and so *apropos* of our subject, that we venture to make a lengthened quotation:—

I was challenged in the House of Commons, I think it was by Mr. Goschen, when it was I adopted the views I held upon this question. I did not find it a difficult question to answer. I replied, principally since I had occupied the office of Home Secretary, an office, I venture to think, more favourable to the impartial consideration of that subject even than that of Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is impossible that anyone who has been charged, as I was for five anxious years, with the criminal and domestic administration of this country, should fail to be painfully and deeply impressed with the terrible evils which have their principal source in drink. If you can only eliminate that single spring of crime, of madness, of poverty, and of misery, how much would you add to the health and the wealth of this nation. Much has been accomplished in many respects in my lifetime, now no longer short, and particularly in sanitary reform. The death-rate of the people has been signally lessened. Their vital energies and powers have been raised in a marked degree. The education of the people has permeated the masses, which in former days it never reached. The food and the comforts of the people are more cheap and more abundant. These are elements in the moral and material progress of this country which philanthropists and statesmen alike may view with solid satisfaction. Yet with all these fair hopes of a

rich and abundant harvest there comes this fatal mildew which blasts the ripening grain, and the social husbandman finds he has laboured in vain. In spite of all your progress your gaols are still replenished with crime, your workhouses are filled with paupers, homes that might be happy become the abodes of wretchedness, men who might be an honour and a service to their country become either mischievous drunkards or useless sots, and women who should be the nursing mothers of future generations offer to their children the fatal example of intemperance and vice. Depend upon it, gentlemen, there is no place like the Home Office for impressing upon the mind the terrible signification of this cancer which eats into the vitals of society. Can we sit with folded hands and accept this shocking and far-reaching mischief? You don't act with helpless impotence in other things. If you have foul sewers, you cleanse them; if you have swamps which breed fever and endanger the vital powers of the community, you drain them. But this fruitful source of moral pestilence is allowed to work its unnumbered evils. Is there no remedy for it? The remedy is at your hand. It is the very thing which this Alliance exists to promote—it is to give the people the power to protect and save themselves. That is a very simple, a very English, a very constitutional—I hope I shall frighten nobody when I say, a very democratic remedy. It is the principle which is known by the name of Local Option—a phrase once despised, ridiculed, and rejected, but which is now accepted and even patronised. Are the people of this country willing to possess and ready to exercise these powers in their own defence?

Readers need not be reminded of the references to the subject made by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley during the course of the past year, nor to the still more important fact—the most important, far, to be found in the modern history of drink legislation in those countries—viz., the acceptance of the principle of Direct Popular Veto at the great Liberal Conference of last year.

In 1885 the present Prime Minister gave a qualified adhesion to Local Option; and although not, we believe, referring to week-days, he, however, accepted the principle that the people should have control of the traffic. The Government waited for an opportunity to deal with the matter comprehensively—Governments are very fond of comprehensiveness in legislation—till at length the Local Government Bill of 1888 presented the desired occasion. At first sight the Bill seemed to embody the Local Option principle; but it was soon found to be a mockery and a snare, and the friends of the temperance cause gave voice to their bitter disappointment:—

And be those juggling friends no more believed
That palter with us *in a double sense*,
That keep the word of promise to our ear
And break it to our hope.—*Macbeth*.

The temperance party soon saw that it was more a peril than a boon, and determined to oppose it in every possible manner. While being supposed to embody Local Option it would rather tend to make it impossible. In appearance an assault on the liquor traffic, in reality it would make that traffic impregnable, and place it on a basis of permanency and strength hardly hoped for by its warmest advocates. So thought, at least, the temperance leaders in these countries. Among the objections to the Government proposal it was found—(1) That the question was so mixed up with other matters that it could hardly ever be considered as a separate issue; (2) that no district could determine *finally* the matter for itself—the very thing insisted on; and (3) there were attached to the Bill the fatal “Compensation Clauses,” which provided that a heavy fine should be imposed on the district in which licences had been cancelled. Neither in reason, or law, or precedent was there any justification for the compensation claim thus set up in the Bill, by which the people had only the power to *buy out* the licences if they desired their discontinuance. The judges in various courts had refused to acknowledge it, even the publicans hardly made it, and yet the Government inserted the iniquitous proposal and clung to it, until forced to yield to the strong popular feeling which had been called forth against it in the country. It was only on the eve of the contest—and what proved to be the Government defeat—at Ayr Burghs, that Mr. Smyth, in the House of Commons, performed a *volte face* on the subject of the obnoxious liquor clauses.* The following resolutions were passed at a meeting held immediately after the introduction of the Local Government Bill; they are of interest as showing the chief grounds of opposition on the part of the temperance party:—

That the Executive Committee of the United Kingdom Alliance deeply regrets that in their Local Government Bill just introduced into Parliament, the Government have altogether failed to deal in an adequate manner with the question of the liquor traffic; and the Executive emphatically declares that no mere transfer of the licensing authority will satisfy earnest temperance reformers, or can be efficient, which does not confer upon the people of a locality the power to prohibit by a direct vote the issue or renewal of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in that locality.

That this Executive emphatically condemns the proposal of the Government, embodied in their Local Government Bill, to endow the present holders of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, with what is “practically a vested interest” in those licenses. It also

* See U.K.A. pamphlet, entitled, “Fight Against the Licensing Proposals of the Local Government Bill.”

protests in the strongest manner against the proposals for compensation, and calls upon all good citizens to assist in opposing these portions of the licensing clauses of the measure.

Among the reasons urged against compensation * were—(a) because licences were privileges and not property; (b) because they confer on their holders a monopoly, and monopolists are, by all political economists, excluded from compensation, for which the monopoly itself is a substitute; (c) because the system takes its origin from a supposed public necessity, and should therefore cease when it procures only evil to the community, or when the public themselves no longer want it; and (d), passing over many other reasons, because licences are granted *only for one year*, on the expiration of which time the licensee has no further claim. "In every case, in every year, there is a new licence granted. The Legislature recognizes no vested right at all in any holder of a license" (Mr. Justice Field, Court of Queen's Bench, November 1882). Before leaving this part of the subject we should observe—and the observation may seem called for by some of the remarks just made—that we have no wish, as we certainly have no right, to make the question, about which we must be all anxious, a mere party question. How far our strictures are justified, let the action of the Government determine; only we would add those words from one of its ablest supporters—Lord Randolph Churchill—who is reported to have said: "I am asked, Would you give to the local authority power to prohibit totally all sale of drink within their district? I reply, *I would and I wouldn't*. I would in theory, *but in practice I would not*." †

Within the limits of the space which we can at this point hope for, it would be quite impossible to set forth at length, or in form, the arguments in support of the principle of local control of the drink traffic. It will, however, be sufficient to add a few propositions, which we think will sufficiently indicate their nature and force. Readers of temperance literature often meet with the words Local Control, Local Option, and Direct Popular Veto, not to add the Permissive Bill, which has been referred to already. This seems the place to say wherein these differ one from the other, and what it is precisely that we propose to advocate. In the schools the *Status questionis* used to precede the *Argumenta* and the *Difficultates*; and we see no good reason why we should not

* For these and further reasons, see a paper published by U.K. Alliance, "Reasons against Compensation to Liquor Traffickers and Replies to Pleas in favour of it."

† Speech in Sunderland, October 19, 1888, *vide* pamphlet before quoted.

adhere to so logical an order in what remains of this paper. First, as to Local Control. The principle common to local controllists generally seems to be the local control or management of the traffic through boards, and thus, without prohibiting it, to keep it within certain safe limits. Local Option, as already defined, would include prohibition—if the inhabitants so desired (*opted*)—or the traffic regulation, should they not so desire. In fine, Direct Popular Veto objects to the traffic being imposed on any locality against the will (*veto*) of the people of that locality. Like the Permissive Bill, it makes this its one business; and it requires that the people themselves, be they ratepayers or Parliamentary voters, shall have the right to say, *directly*, Yes or No, to the question, "Will we have drink traffic in this area?"*

The following propositions embody the arguments, or some of the chief among them, in favour of Direct Popular Veto, or other form of local control:—

1. In a matter intimately connected with the welfare and happiness of the community, the people should have the power of self-protection against what they believe to be a source of danger and ruin. If they declare that the drink traffic in their midst is such a danger, then the State should, at their desire, protect them against it.

2. The traffic in intoxicating drinks, as it exists in these countries, is opposed at once to the interest and happiness of individuals, as well to the public order and good, and ought therefore to be prohibited, at least where the community so choose.

3. Legislation, so far, has left undone much that the Legislature could and ought to have done; legislation on the basis of licensing has resulted, after centuries of trial, in utter failure; we need, therefore, further legislation, but of a more drastic kind, and on some new principle.

4. Legislation, on the contrary, on the principle of the Popular Veto, or of prohibition when supported by the will of the people, has produced in different countries the happiest results—results that would fully justify a more extended application of the same principle. Witness the Sunday Closing in Ireland, the Forbes Mackenzie Act in Scotland, and the Maine Law in America.

5. It has been sufficiently proved that nothing less than

* The principle of Local Option leaves nothing to be desired, but in practice it is open to objections; and Direct Popular Veto is now generally, and justly, adopted by the temperance party. Its meaning is definite and unmistakable; that of Local Option, on the contrary, is not fixed. The latter, too, is usually supposed to work through boards elected for different purposes, such as County or Town Councils, and whose members are supposed to represent the public on several issues. Direct Popular Veto, on the contrary, appeals directly to the people on the *one* subject: their reply will be distinct and final.

Popular Control or State Prohibition can supply an adequate remedy for the drink curse of our times, so far as such remedy may be found at all in legislation.

6. Such a law is—(a), *just*, because there is question of the public good, and “*salus populi, lex suprema* ;” (b) it is *feasible*, because it has been carried out elsewhere, with happiest results, and “*ab actu ad posse licet consequentia* ;” (c) it is entirely *consonant with rational liberty*, because it is supposed to be at the desire and demand of the community—a feature, we think, not usually found in Coercion Acts, at least in this country.

7. The present system is unreasonable and mischievous: by its endless licensing it everywhere sets traps for the people, and then it punishes its victims by fines and imprisonment.

8. It is English law that whatever injures the public health or good, be the detriment physical or moral, thereby becomes a nuisance. Hence it closes gambling hells, and it prohibits or safeguards the sale of certain poisonous drugs. The drink traffic has become a fruitful source of public detriment: physical, by sickness and increase in the death-rate, and moral, because it produces three-fourths of our crime.

Under each of these heads much might be written: we have only aimed at gathering together, and putting in a few words, what appeared to us to be the chief arguments of temperance advocates, or which we have most generally found them using, and we must only hope that in the compression, which was necessary, we have done them no injustice, while succeeding in making ourselves intelligible. Nearly everything in this paper will go to illustrate and support one or other of these points; one little incident we shall only add, which struck us very forcibly on our first reading it, and which may affect some reader in a similar manner. On May Day of 1887 or 1888—for we cannot now remember, though the fact was duly chronicled in the daily press—a procession through the streets of Birmingham was organized by a great local brewer; it was a mile in length, and consisted of drays and other vehicles used in the trade. What the precise object was we don't know, but a counter-demonstration was got up by the temperance party. A great crowd of children, poor, wretched, starving, and unkempt, with pallid faces and tattered garments, were got to walk immediately after the brewers' carts, and at their head was borne a banner with the words, “*Our fathers support the brewers and we starve!*” It was added by the writer whose account we read, that the counter-demonstration might have been made much more imposing had there been sufficient notice, and for a possible future occasion of a like kind we may be allowed the suggestion that, after the ghastly line of children, the inmates of the gaols and workhouses

and asylums of the great city, or at least three-fourths of them, should be made to take their rightful places in the sad procession.

The proposition which will call forth the warmest contention of rival advocates is that which refers to the *results* of Prohibition and Popular Veto where tried. We cannot wonder at this: there have been in the world's history great battles in which victory has been claimed by both sides; and at the present position of the great temperance question in our midst the results of such legislation in other lands will be a witness to which many will appeal with confidence. Naturally our thoughts turn to America, where, both in the United States and in Canada, people thought it necessary, long years ago, to deal with the drink traffic after a very drastic fashion. They did not think it necessary to palter with it, for 300 years, by licensing experiments; and, whatever may be thought of their claims in other matters, in this we must acknowledge we have much to learn from their example. To deal comprehensively with the subject of drink legislation in America is obviously out of the question here—it would be a most interesting and useful subject for some one more conversant with the facts; what is either necessary or possible, for our purpose at present, may be set forth in a very few words. Referring to the Prohibition and Local Option laws of that country, one often meets with such statements as this, and sometimes, as in this case, by writers from whom we should expect accurate information: "It has, however, been proved by incontrovertible evidence that these measures have rather tended to encourage than to diminish intemperance; and that evasions of the law, on a scale of enormous magnitude, have demoralized public feeling, and thrown open the door to scandalous abuses.*" Now, if these words refer to State Prohibition where popular opinion is counter, and the executive lukewarm, we have no quarrel with the statement, and we can have no surprise at the information. What *laissez-faire* could do with a Sunday closing law in parts of Ireland and Wales, it surely could effect, particularly when supported by popular opposition, with a prohibition law in America. But if, on the contrary, the writer refers to local option, in places where the community assents and the officials are earnest, then we must meet the assertion with a direct negative. If we ever come to treat of the subject at large, we shall find no difficulty in establishing that much, and on "incontrovertible evidence." For the present, we must be content with a reply that will be very brief, but sufficient, we trust, withal. In the extract given

* "Nat. Encyclopedia," Latest Edition, Art. "Temperance Movement."

reference is made to the State of Maine; and, indeed, it is the State most generally referred to by writers on the subject. The Governor of that State will be credited with some knowledge on the subject: in reply to a query put to him he sent the following very pertinent and decisive letter:—

DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt of note requesting of me some statement of the standing and results of the policy of Prohibition in Maine, to be forwarded to friends of temperance in England. That policy was adopted here in 1851, and now there is no organized opposition to it in the State. After an experience of its results during more than a quarter of a century, it is acquiesced in by both political parties as beneficial to the people. The quantity of liquors smuggled into the State and sold surreptitiously is vastly less than was consumed in former years, and the law is executed easily and as well as any other of our criminal laws. I do not think the people of Maine would for any consideration go back to the old policy of licence.

SELDEN CONNOR, Governor of the State of Maine.

Augusta, Maine, April 24th, 1878.

In 1851 the State adopted what is known as the Maine Law—it abolished the sale of intoxicating drinks—by a majority of 2 to 1. In 1884, after a long experience of the law, it was made a standing part of the Constitution by a majority of 3 to 1. It will be enough to add that the State was, before the enactment, the very poorest in the Union, and that in after years it became one of the richest!

But all this, the objector may say, has become ancient history; and what of more recent statistics? Fortunately they are entirely of the same character. On the very day on which these words were being penned an American paper came to hand, from which the following is taken, being part of an address of the Governor of Iowa to the Legislature of Nebraska:—

Prohibition for us has been a marked success. Half our gaols are empty, and our criminal business in many of the counties has decreased fully one-half since we enforced the law. The number of convicts in our penitentiaries has decreased rapidly. Poor people are better fed, better clothed, and better provided for than ever before. People spend their money for those things which do them the most good. I have nothing but good words for the prohibitory law.

In this State of Iowa there was a very stringent law enacted in 1884. Let these few figures tell the result:—

In 1882,	criminal expenditure,	4 million dolls.
In 1888,	"	2½ million dolls.
In 1882,	"	convictions, 1282
In 1888,	"	634 only!

But even in these countries prohibition has had a trial, for

what Government has not done individual proprietors have, and in cases more numerous than many may have imagined. Bessbrook is a large manufacturing town in the North of Ireland, with linen works at which 4000 people are employed, and for the past thirty years no intoxicants have been allowed to be sold. In Tyrone, not far from this, there is a large district of country in which prohibition is also the rule. Of both places a recent writer says: "There has resulted wonderful good for health, morals, and prosperity of the people." Of the first place, a large manufacturing town, it is added that some years ago "there was neither police barrack nor pawn-office." In several of the great centres in England—Liverpool, for instance, and London, and Birmingham—there are large districts similarly circumstanced. That the happy results are equally noticeable will be manifest from the following abstract:—

Your committee, in conclusion, are of opinion that as the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors is to supply a supposed public want, without detriment to the public welfare, a legal power of restraining the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves—who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system. Such a power would, in effect, secure to districts willing to exercise it, the advantages now enjoyed by the numerous parishes in the province of Canterbury, where, according to reports furnished to your committee, owing to the influence of the landowner, no sale of intoxicating liquors is licensed.

Few, it may be believed, are cognisant of the fact, which has been elicited by the present inquiry—that there are at this time within the province of Canterbury upwards of one thousand parishes in which there is neither public-house nor beer-shop, and where, in consequence of the absence of these inducements to crime and pauperism, according to the evidence before the committee, the intelligence, morality, and comfort of the people are such as the friends of temperance would have anticipated. ("Report of the Convocation of Canterbury on Temperance.")

We come now to hear the other side. Indeed we have done so to some extent already. Those who speak of the "futility of attempting to make people sober by bolts and bars" have, we trust, been answered; and those who appeal to what they fancy the adverse witness of results; and those who insist that the remedy must be sought only in religion, or in education, or in the social amelioration of the masses;—anywhere and everywhere, provided the law of the land be allowed no share in the work. To such objections there is no need of returning, only we would add that the lessons of experience are entirely against them.

There are countries where education is universal and advanced, and public opinion enlightened and strong, but where drunkenness has kept *pari passu* with one and the other; and, on the other hand, there are peoples among whom education and civilization are certainly at low-water mark, but who, in the matter of temperance, compare very favourably with the most civilized nations in Europe. What is said of education applies proportionately to the other remedies above suggested.

Of what remains there is much that need not detain us long, much that can serve no cause by its advocacy and that calls for no serious attention, except it be from those engaged in the pleasant pastime of collecting literary curiosities. In the discussion carried on in a leading Irish journal a few months ago, and to which reference has already been made, there was a great deal written of this kind, and any reader who, like the bee gathering honey from every flower, is blessed with the happy disposition of finding amusement in every event of life, may be directed to a careful perusal of that lengthened correspondence. We have lately heard, too, of a brilliant statistician who, by dint no doubt of deep research, had found that, where drunkenness prevailed, there crime decreased, and *vice versâ*, and, as in duty bound, hastened to enlighten a world that had been all along credulously believing the contrary. But there is something more brilliant still. In a leading London Review there has recently appeared an article, able in many respects, written certainly in a style faultless and fascinating, in which the writer seems to state that most of those who had been up to his day treating of the subject were incompetent, and that the subject of our drunkenness and its cure should be left to those who had a personal experience in such matters, by which, we presume, he meant that section of society ycleped reformed drunkards.

There are, however, other points claiming more attention; less, however, because of the objections themselves, than of the names and character of those who use them. With such as those the favourite shibboleths are Liberty, Revenue and Trade; and with a word on each we may fitly conclude.

(a) *Liberty*.—"The intemperance we have to deal with"—are the words of a leading English statesman of a few years ago "is not a wrong we can redress, nor a crime we can punish, but a vice, an evil habit, which is not within the reach of the law, *without an intolerable inroad on public liberty.*" And, re-echoes the *Times*: "It is the inalienable right of every Briton to make a fool or a beast of himself as much as he pleases, so long as it does not directly interfere with the safety, comfort, and morals of others!"

En passant, we are tempted to ask that once great authority

to reconcile such an astounding statement with other words of its own: "No way so rapid to increase the wealth of nations, and the morality of society, as the utter annihilation of the manufacture of ardent spirits, constituting, as they do, an infinite waste and an unmixed evil."* Now in reply to statements such as these—for they may be multiplied indefinitely—it would be enough to say, that the legislation we advocate presupposes, not alone the consent, but the *demand*, of the people themselves; and that therefore not alone would it not be an "inroad" on liberty, but the highest and freest exercise of the same. It will be found, moreover, that all such objections are founded on misapprehension; and the most effectual reply to them would be a reference to some hand-book to determine, once and for all, what liberty *is*. If anything better than that could be recommended to our objectors, it would be the careful study of the noble Encyclical of Leo XIII. on the subject, in order to learn what liberty *is not*. Till assured of such preliminary and essential knowledge, we would feel ourselves free to pass on; but it may be well to add that such arguments tell against all the laws that ever were made, or will be made, by man, if they tell against one; "that all that makes existence valuable, to any one, depends upon the enforcement of restraints on the action of other people;"† that when a thing becomes socially injurious, the law may interfere, and we have no right to prevent it; that the law is constantly doing so, in other matters, even in what, ordinarily speaking, is most sacred in its eyes, such as parental rights; and that, in fine, when we reflect on the subject deeply, we come to see that drink, and drink traffic, have much more to do with the opposite of liberty than with liberty itself. This will go to explain a sentiment, for which Mr. Henry George is responsible, "There is no better friend of the unjust monopoly of landlords than intemperance. As soon as men begin to drink, they will not think." Liberty! Why, in what is called the land of liberty, by a return of last year, there were 5,000,000 English-speaking people living under Prohibition, and 18,000,000 under Local Option, enjoying liberty notwithstanding their drink laws; yes, and a degree of liberty which would not be theirs *were it not for these same laws*.

(b) *Revenue*.—Our proposed legislation would involve the nation in financial difficulties: our Exchequer draws £30,000,000 a year from liquor and liquor traffic; what will be a substitute for such a loss? To this class of difficulties two answers, resting on

* Both extracts will be found in Dr. Lee's "Arguments for Prohibition," a most interesting and able work, to which we are indebted for much information and assistance in the preparation of this paper.

† John S. Mill.

totally different principles, at once suggest themselves. Much, as a matter of fact, is nowadays sacrificed to the Moloch of revenue, public and private; but we venture to hope that, in our days, the Macchiavelli is not to be found who would boldly proclaim that at the altar of such an idol all that man holds dear—virtue, peace, life, and death—must be made a holocaust. These interests are far too dear to be sacrificed for revenue; and if any trade clashes with them, then it is that trade, and not those interests, that must perish. That is our first reply.*

But is this disastrous loss to the national revenue assured? We deny it; and, before we can assume it, we must calculate what has never been even approximately calculated—and never will be—the countless crimes and miseries that follow from our drunkenness, and even the financial losses that accrue to the nation from the same source. Before coming to a hasty conclusion, we must place much on the other side of the scale: premature deaths—about 30,000 annually, or, as some would have it, 60,000; waste of time on the part of drinking workmen, and consequent loss to industry; increase of taxation coming from support of drunkards and their families, in workhouses, prisons, and asylums; extra charges by way of salaries of judges, magistrates, and other officials, necessitated by drunkenness; and much more that will be obvious to all. Statisticians tell us that the indirect cost of our drinking is not less than the direct, and that both is fully 250 millions sterling annually. It has been said that many of these considerations are never weighed: certainly not their financial value. When we hear of the 30,000 deaths a year from drunkenness, we think of the ignoble end, and of the sins represented; but how few trouble to count up the monetary deficit to the State as well as to the family.† If we go back to the time of Father Mathew's great crusade, we shall find some very instructive figures under this head. Notwithstanding the great decrease in the use of intoxicants, the revenue actually *rose above the average*, what it lost in one respect having being gained in others. A reminiscence of a far less pleasant kind comes to us from the same time. It has been established that during the terrible years of 1847 and 1848 there was destroyed for purposes of distillation enough of corn to support the thousands that died through hunger; "that they could have been saved by stopping

* "Certainly I shall not think it compatible with my duty to oppose any such plan as the Permissive Bill on fiscal grounds. I should myself urge that fiscal grounds, whether they be important or not, must necessarily be secondary to that question. . . . It ought to be decided on entirely social and moral grounds" (Mr. Gladstone's speech in 1860).

† We have seen such a calculation somewhere, and, as the figures were startling, we regret we cannot now lay our hands on them.

the distilleries and breweries;" and that it is simple truth to say "that half a million of souls were sacrificed to the traffic."*

(c) *Trade*.—Nearly all that has been said under the last head applies, in a measure, to the question of trade. Hence we may be very brief. We deny that, while the proposed drink legislation will be replete with blessings to the community at large, it will interfere with the true interests of any one of its sections; and, even though it should, that fact must not stand in the way for a moment of the public good. Has any census been ever taken that tells (1) the number of premature deaths in the year of drink-sellers and their wives and members of their family, from drink; and (2) the proportion borne by those numbers to the numbers of deaths from similar causes among the community at large? That piece of information, we imagine, is not to be found easily; till it is attainable we refuse to decide the question of the true interests of those engaged in the trade. We might go much further, for we are of the large number of those who believe that the legislation we advocate, and which we hope to see in full force in our midst, will be a source of countless blessings to us all, but that the first and greatest boon of all will be for those who are now engaged in the miserable trade itself. Loss of the trade! Why there are towns in Ireland in which whole sections of the people—and those the most businesslike and wisest—entirely eschew the trade, and seem systematically to leave it to one hapless party, who appear too dazzled by its seeming advantages to notice the almost inevitable curse it brings.

But, secondly, loss or no loss, the trade must go if the nation, in its own interests, demands it. Not to introduce the question of health and drink, which we have found it necessary thus far to avoid, but merely to illustrate the case, we take the following instance. The cholera raged in Washington in 1832; the doctors declared rum-shops to be centres of danger, and drunkards its surest victims, and a means of spreading the infection; thereupon the Board of Health declared the sale of all ardent spirits a nuisance, and therefore illegal. Was the Board of Health not justified in its action? Would not the authorities to-day, as well as then, be bound, as well as justified, in acting in a similar manner in similar circumstances? And if all that are best and wisest in the land—the *sanior pars* of the people—join together to demand the abolition of one trade for the public good; if bishops of a whole nation, gathered in Synod, declare "drunkenness to be the cause of nearly all our crime," and priests call it "the blight of their missions;" if judges declare it "the source of nearly nineteen-twentieths of the crimes of this country;" if

* "Argument for Prohibition," p. 98.

doctors believe "that alcohol is the most destructive agent that we are aware of in this country;" and if the officials of our gaols, workhouses, and asylums proclaim that drunkenness is among the chief feeders of those institutions—in fine, if from all sides, and from every rank, an indignant protest is heard against what has become the "scourge of a nation," who will say that a demand so universal can be resisted because of the so-called rights or interests of one trade?

We may conclude with the word with which we began. The Church and the State has here each its work to do. We have to deal with that which is at once a sin in the individual and a crime in the nation. Drunkenness—that is the sin of the individual. To abet it, to tempt to it, not to aid in its prevention—that is the nation's crime. The Church has done its duty, but with lessened results, because with cramped action; and we venture to remark that so it will be in the future, notwithstanding new departures, and the accession of great names. The Church has done its part; we must agitate—and we would make this suggestion to the Temperance organizations among us—till the action of the State be a help rather than a hindrance, and till our public men recognize the fact "that a Government should so legislate as to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong," and "that the end of Government is only to promote virtue, of which happiness is the consequence, and therefore to support Government by propagating vice is to support it by means which destroy the end for which it was originally established."

JAMES HALPIN, C.C.

ART. V.—MARY, QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

WITH the declaration of the Royal Supremacy by Henry VIII. the first stone had been laid of that grotesque and insecure, yet costly and luxurious, edifice, the English State Church. It was years before it rose above its mere foundations, decrepit even in its infancy, for as long as Henry lived the country remained Catholic. There was still some outward reverence towards the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar; Masses were still offered for the living and the dead, and it was exceedingly unsafe to show any leaning towards the new doctrines. Nevertheless, slowly but surely, a change was being effected. When allegiance to the Holy See had been given up, men quickly lost the tradition of spiritual authority, and with the religious houses were swept away all notions of an austere life. A dissolute Court could not but have a bad effect upon the country at large. Religion was brought into contempt by the negligence and licentiousness of a corrupt aristocracy, while the revolutionary wave then agitating Germany and Switzerland was steadily advancing towards these shores.

In 1547, the year of Henry's death, priests were allowed to marry, and "this year," says a contemporary writer, "the Archbishop of Canterbury did eat meat openly in Lent, in the Hall of Lambeth, the like of which was never seen since England was a Christian country."

Cranmer conducted the King's funeral services, which lasted two days, and said the Requiem Mass. All the peers of the realm attended the Masses and Offices for the dead, and nothing was omitted that would have been seemly at the death of a monarch in the most Catholic periods of our history.

But hereupon followed the coronation of Edward VI., and Montio, an Italian eye-witness of the ceremony, wrote to the Duke Hercules, of Ferrara, that when Cranmer, in the act of anointing the young prince, told him that he was to promise to defend his people and the Church of God with the sword, Edward inquired, "What Church?" The Archbishop, who has been aptly described, with others of his kind, as a "movable Catholic," replied diplomatically that he meant "the faithful and the Gospel." The King answered that with all his heart he would do so.

Whatever this promise may have meant, Edward's people soon fell from the position they had hitherto occupied in the politics of Europe, and mainly through the self-seeking of his counsellors, bent on their own personal advancement. Their abject compliance with

the dictates of France, resulted in the shameful surrender of Boulogne, and paved the way for the loss of Calais in the next reign. So little prestige did the country enjoy all over the Continent, that during the six years of Edward's sovereignty, the Emperor Charles V. was in a position to demand the Princess Mary's rights, at the point of the sword.

Internally, the nation was divided by poverty and discontent. Those only were satisfied, who had been enriched by the plunder of the religious houses. The monopoly of land having been Henry's main object in seizing Church property, the new owners enclosed every stray piece of waste ground they could lay violent hands on, and rack-rented it, so that the poor man, "who had hitherto been able to keep a cow and a few sheep, could not now so much as find food for a goose or a hen." The fishing population of the coast suffered as much as the country people, for the fisheries declined through want of a market, where to dispose of the smack loads with which they returned to port; * the suppression of the monasteries affected, more or less, the arts and crafts throughout the kingdom. Nine years afterwards, at the beginning of Edward's reign, vagrancy had to be dealt with summarily. The indigent had become the great bulk of the nation, while those who had grown fat on the wealth which had formerly been distributed to the poor at the convent gates, thought little of feeding the hungry. Stringent poor laws were enacted, but failed to meet the difficulty. A vagrant might be pressed into the service of any person who met him on the king's highway. If he refused to do the work assigned to him, how vile soever it might be, he was to be branded with the letter V, and adjudged a slave for two years, to be fed on bread and water and refuse meat. A first attempt at escape was punished by the slave being branded with an S, after which he was kept a slave for life. A second attempt resulted in his dying a felon's death.† Besides all this, we are told that a vast number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, and idle vagabonds lay and crept begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster.

But although the people might lack bread, doctrines were as plentiful as leaves in summer. Questions which had formerly occupied the minds of schoolmen alone, were now bandied about in the market-places and at street corners by the unlearned, and the novelties in religion, so sternly forbidden under Henry, broke forth in wild luxuriance. Some of the innovators were keen to

* Dom Gasquet's "Henry VIII., and the English Monasteries," vol. ii. p. 505.

† "A History of the English Poor Law," by Sir G. Nicholls, K.C.B., Poor Law Commissioner, and Secretary to the Poor Law Board.

discover Papistry even in the Ten Commandments; all teaching that in any way enjoyed discipline, was denounced as heresy. Divinity ceased to be taught at the Universities; the Godhead of Jesus Christ was denied. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, refused to wear the episcopal habits, and denounced them as "the livery of the harlot of Babylon."* Finally, the laws forbidding bigamy, were declared to savour of the bondage of Rome. The more moderate of the fanatics sometimes gave in to the more violent, through fear of being suspected of a want of zeal. All might *live* as they pleased, provided only they *talked* the jargon of the reformers.

It was impossible that such a condition of things, the outcome of spiritual and moral decadence, should contain any elements of stability. At the death of Edward, the new State religion was in peril of its life. In spite of the looted monasteries, the exchequer was in an impoverished condition, and the kingdom almost without an army, while money urgently needed had been squandered in the erection of magnificent public buildings. In Soranzo's report on England, in 1553, he says of London, that on the banks of the river were many large palaces, making a very fine show, but that the rest of the city was much disfigured by the ruins of a multitude of churches and monasteries, belonging heretofore to friars and nuns. The population was dense, amounting to 180,000 souls.† The poor were lawless, and the rich hard-hearted; no wonder that the lovers of order and equity welcomed Mary as "the restorer of a popular Church and of honest government."‡

To gain time for the organization of their schemes, the conspirators hoped to conceal the fact of Edward's death for some days, it being necessary to keep the Emperor in ignorance of the state of affairs, lest he should interfere, on behalf of his cousin. It was, however, through the dictates of no foreign Power that Mary ascended the throne of her ancestors, but by the free choice of the nation.

Edward had scarcely ceased to breathe when the news was communicated to her by the Earl of Arundel, together with the designs of the Council in favour of the Lady Jane Grey. The late King would willingly have appointed Elizabeth his successor, all her interests being closely bound up with Protestantism, but when he had passed over Mary, on account of her religion, Northumberland easily persuaded him that the marriage of Elizabeth's parents, valid or invalid, had been clearly and lawfully undone.§ Northumberland's ambition would have been

* Green's "History of the English People," p. 352.

† "Calendar of State Papers, 1553. Venetian Archives."

‡ Gardiner's "History of England," vol. i. p. 11.

§ "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1553."

scarcely better satisfied by Elizabeth's accession than by Mary's. While the conspirators were taking possession of the Tower, the Crown jewels, and the State prisoners, while the Lady Jane was being prepared for

"the burthen of an honour
Unto which she was not born,"

Mary, without a single accessory of royalty, without money, and without means of defence, was gathering round her all the flower of the eastern counties, and issuing manifestoes to proclaim her accession to all her subjects. The Duke of Northumberland, hoping by a sudden attack to drive her across the sea, marched into Suffolk with an army of eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, only to find that he had been declared a rebel, and that a price had been put upon his head. Mary had left her house, Kenninghall, in Norfolk, and had ridden to Framlingham. In the neighbourhood of this place, Northumberland, losing heart at the enthusiasm with which the people greeted her approach, ordered a retreat to Cambridge, the headquarters of the Protestant faction. Mary took shelter that night at the house of Mr. Huddleston, of Sawston. Early in the morning she rose, and rode southwards with her followers. Looking back from the summit of a neighbouring hill, she saw the smoke rising in volumes from the house she had just left. The Protestants had set fire to it, thinking that it still sheltered the Queen. Later on, she granted to Mr. Huddleston the materials from the ruins of Cambridge Castle, with which to rebuild his house.

Northumberland's irresolution produced a bad effect on his party, and numbers deserted hourly to Mary's standard. In London, dissension reigned in the Council. The Lady Jane, moreover, less pliant than when she had been forced to usurp the throne, persisted in refusing to share the crown with her husband, whose sulky attitude in consequence greatly embarrassed their affairs. Meanwhile, that crown was passing for ever from their grasp. The Duke of Suffolk, Jane's father, was one of the first to sign Mary's proclamation, and the nine days' Queen retired to the seclusion from which it had been better she had never been drawn. Northumberland's conduct, when, being ordered to disband his troops, he proceeded to the market-place, threw his cap into the air and proclaimed Queen Mary, with every token of joy, was equalled in meanness by that of every member of Edward's Council. The tame submission of each, when it became evident that further delay would be dangerous, revealed the paltry nature of the conspiracy itself. Had they been men of courage and conviction, possessing the confidence of the nation, the result of their action might have been disastrous,

in the miserable state of the country. As it was, never had victory been so bloodless, never battle more easily won. After the rebellion of a week, Mary was everywhere recognized as Queen of England, and the insurrection quelled with such rapidity, that De Noailles, the French Ambassador, never Mary's sincere friend, saw in it the direct interposition of God's Providence.

Continuing her journey southward, Mary was joined near London by Elizabeth, who had prudently abstained from taking any part in the contest, till it should be clear on which side success lay. She had declined Northumberland's overtures, but she had also avoided moving a finger in Mary's cause, and had shut herself up in her room, pleading illness. The illness fortunately allowed her to recover at the very moment when her sister was approaching her capital in triumph. They rode together through the densely lined streets, the crowd accompanying them with deafening shouts of applause. At the Tower, Mary first exercised her royal privilege of pardoning condemned prisoners. She found them kneeling on the Green, beside the scaffold—there were the Duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, son of the late Marquess of Exeter, Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, whose See had been suppressed, and the lands belonging to it transferred to the Duke of Northumberland; and Gardiner, the deprived Bishop of Winchester. Bursting into tears, she exclaimed: "They are *my* prisoners!" kissed them all, and ordered the liberation of every one of them.* The names of twenty-seven persons concerned in the rebellion were handed to her. Of these she struck out sixteen, and would only permit eleven to be proceeded against. The law having then taken its course, they were all condemned to death, but the Queen again intervened, eight were reprieved and three only of the ring-leaders were executed, "the smallest number of the partisans of usurpation ever known," observes Miss Strickland, while Lingard declares this was "an instance of clemency, considering all the circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages." It was with difficulty that the Queen's Ministers prevailed on her to sign Northumberland's death-warrant, on account of the friendship that had once existed between them. The Emperor urged her, through his ambassador, to include the Lady Jane in the number of the condemned. She would, he maintained, never reign in security, while so dangerous a pretender might, at any time, be set up against her. Willingly or not, she had usurped the throne, and there was no safety but in her death. Mary, however, remained immovable. She represented to the Emperor that Jane had been but the tool in Northumberland's

* Lingard's "History of England."

hands, and that she would not have her punished for another's crime.

Far different had been the vengeance taken by Henry after the famous rising in the North.

The rigours of martial law are only by chance recorded, and it is impossible to calculate the number of religious, and of the people who rose to defend them, that perished during the months when legal trial was suspended in the North, and Sussex and Norfolk acted upon the royal command "to cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony." And even, when Sussex stayed his hand in compassion, Henry would hear of no pleading for those who had offended against his Majesty. . . . In some instances, however, the feeling of the people, even in this reign of terror, was manifested against the cruelties perpetrated, by the secret removal of the bodies of those who suffered, from the gallows or trees on which they were left hanging. The Duke of Norfolk was urged to make inquiries and vigorously punish those who had been bold enough to do even this act of Christian charity.*

Mary's chief desire was the welfare of the people. It had actuated her in claiming her right to reign, more than that right itself. She has scarcely mounted the throne when she drew down upon herself the blessings of the whole country by the benefits she conferred upon it. One royal proclamation restored a depreciated currency, another remitted two odious and oppressive taxes granted to the Crown by the late Parliament. She next acknowledged herself answerable for the salaries, three years in arrear, of all the officers and servants of the Crown, and although she had no private purse of her own, she restored the estates of several noblemen which had been confiscated in the preceding reign. Mary's justice was given in good measure, full and overflowing, but it left her little with which to make a show of generosity. It had ever been the custom for monarchs to reward those who had fought in their quarrel with rich gifts of money and land; but, clamour as her friends might, her conscience forbade her to make grants of Church property, and there were no other resources at her command. She was beset with difficulties in the choice of her Ministers. Of those who surrounded her, there were few whom she could trust; among the best, were some who had failed in the past, and who, in a moment of weakness, had been unfaithful to their consciences. Gardiner and Tunstal had both given in to Henry in the question of the divorce, but they had both expiated their weakness by years of imprisonment for their adherence to the True Faith. Gardiner's ability was undeniable, his integ-

* Gasquet's "*Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*," vol. ii. p. 163.

city in the management of finances known to all, and Mary gave proof of no ordinary judgment and discretion in appointing him to be her Chancellor. Henceforth, his life was one continued act of reparation for the injury he had inflicted on the Queen in the past. While he lived, she was never in debt, and so faithfully did he labour in her service that he never considered he had done enough to expiate his fault. Preaching once before the Queen, he exclaimed: "I have sinned with Peter, but I have not loved and wept like Peter!"

Lord Paget was next in importance to Gardiner in the Council, and was remarkable for ability and tact, but is not entirely free from the suspicion of having been somewhat fascinated by the new doctrines, and inclined to favour heretics. The Archbishop of Canterbury being in prison, on a charge of high treason, for having conspired, in favour of the Lady Jane, Gardiner performed the ceremony of coronation. One of Mary's first acts had been to reinstate him in his bishopric, of which he had been deprived by an uncanonical process; the sentence was proved to be invalid, and he at once took possession of his spiritualities and temporalities. The coronation took place in Westminster Abbey, according to the ancient rite. By restoring something of the splendour of the Court festivities, by bringing dancing and music again into vogue, by abolishing the sombre Puritanical dress of Edward's reign, Mary gave a much-needed impetus to trade; and while she offended some of the reformers, found favour with the ladies of her Court, weary of the dull, colourless garments which had been supposed to indicate a contrite spirit. The country awoke as if by magic to a new life. Even Protestant London felt the benefit of the reaction. The streets were gaily decorated for the coronation, money began to circulate again, and the satisfaction depicted on all faces was in keeping with the magnificence of the surroundings. Within the Abbey, however intrigue, "like a worm in the bud," was already beginning its fatal work. Elizabeth, as nearest blood-relation to the Queen, carried the crown in the procession. She whispered to De Noailles that it was very heavy. "Be patient," he replied; "it will seem lighter when it is on your own head." Henceforth it was the policy of De Noailles to keep up a perpetual friction between the contending parties in the State, and Elizabeth's name was cunningly thrust forward whenever capital was to be made of it. The Queen's sympathies were known to be Spanish. The French antagonism to Spain was, on the Continent, open and avowed; in England it was carried on under an assumed name.

Four days after the coronation Mary opened her first Parliament. It annulled all Acts which had been passed concerning Queen Catherine's divorce, but in its transactions both Elizabeth's

name and that of her mother were skilfully avoided. In all the six Parliaments of Mary's reign not one actor in the cruel drama of the divorce is held up for opprobrium but Cranmer, "the first Archbishop that ever failed in faith, from the rest that were before him, and from the obedience of the See Apostolic." Acts were also passed by the first Parliament restoring the Catholic religion to its ancient position in the country, and all the Acts of Edward VI. concerning religion were repealed.

Among the State prisoners whom Mary had restored to liberty on her accession, was Edward Courtenay, afterwards created by her Earl of Devon. He was of the blood royal, being descended from a younger daughter of Edward IV. His father, the Marquess of Exeter, had been beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII., on the same charge which hurried his kinswoman, the Countess of Salisbury, and her eldest son to the scaffold, and banished her third son, Reginald Pole. Courtenay had been a close prisoner in the Tower for fifteen years, and at the time of his release was twenty-nine years of age. His handsome face and form, no less than the romance of his unmerited fate, made him a favourite with the nation, and invested him even in the Queen's eyes with an interest which his character did not deserve. His mother, the widowed Marchioness of Exeter, was Mary's intimate friend and constant companion; it was therefore easy for the Queen to keep him near her person, and to form and reform manners which had suffered from long confinement and neglect. It was not unnatural, since Mary had declared her intention of marrying, that the nation should see in him an aspirant for the Queen's hand. Gardiner used all his influence to bring about their union, and would probably have succeeded if Courtenay's own conduct had not effectually destroyed his brilliant prospects. Regardless of the Queen's advice and remonstrances, he made use of his newly-acquired freedom to plunge headlong into those pleasures and dissipations the very existence of which had hitherto been unknown to him. He evinced a taste for the lowest company, and gave himself up to the most degrading vices. Even, if the Queen's heart had been touched, Courtenay in forfeiting her esteem, could have no hope of retaining her regard. Convinced at last of his unworthiness, Mary declared in public that it was not to her honour to marry a subject; but to her confidential friends she attributed the change in her determination to Courtenay's immorality. Lingard is careful to note this circumstance, on account of "Hume's romantic statement, for which he could have no better authority than his own imagination."*

It had been Queen Catherine's darling wish, that a marriage

* "History of England," vol. vii.

should be concluded between her daughter and Reginald Pole, who no less than Courtenay, was closely allied to the blood royal. But Pole was utterly devoid of worldly ambition, and preferred the studious retired life of a clerk in holy orders to the most brilliant career that might be offered to him.* Mr. Rawdon Brown's tribute to the greatest Englishman of his age is too valuable to be passed over. He says:†—

From the day Reginald Pole entered as a student at Padua in 1521, until his final departure from the Lake of Garda in 1553, my belief is that he did more to maintain the repute of his country for high breeding, scholarship, integrity, and consistency, than any other Englishman I ever heard of. An able diplomatist, his countryman and contemporary, who knew him well, said "there was not a better English heart than Pole's."

The Emperor Charles V., to whom Mary had been affianced as a child, and who was now worn out more with the cares of government than with age, conceived the bold idea of marrying her to his son Philip, eleven years younger than herself. He entrusted the negotiation of the marriage to Simon Renard, a man of consummate tact, some duplicity, and a profound knowledge of human nature. It is interesting to observe how, in the midst of all the political intrigue which distinguished this negotiation, in the midst of much fine language, which Mary could hardly have taken to be entirely sincere, her intention was simple and direct—the furtherance of God's glory and the welfare of her people. The correspondence between Renard and the Emperor, as well as her own letters to Charles, redound to Mary's honour, and show her to have been singularly free from self-seeking or wilfulness.

Elizabeth's illegitimacy then being considered by all parties a barrier to her succession, Mary welcomed the project of an alliance with the Prince of Spain, as being honourable for the country, and capable of reinstating it in the position it had formerly enjoyed among the Powers of Europe. As for herself personally, she told the Emperor, through Renard, that hitherto she had never loved any man, that she would have been content to remain in her present state until her death, but that she was prepared to honour and obey him to whom she should be destined, according to Divine commandment. She was careful to inquire regarding the disposition and conduct of Philip, and Renard, of course, assured her that both were worthy of his illustrious name and descent. Replying to the objection that the prospect of the marriage was unpopular with the

* Michiel's "Despatches. Calendar of State Papers."

† Preface to "Calendar. Venetian Archives, 1534-1555."

English nation, he said that so great an alliance could only secure its peace and opulence, its freedom and glory, and that with regard to Philip's plurality of kingdoms, his Highness would like nothing better, if the marriage were brought to a happy conclusion, than to remain in England with her (Mary having objected that he would not be able to do so). Renard urged further, that Philip's States being so near England, he could scarcely be considered absent when visiting them, and that the Infanto, his son, would reside in Spain and administer the affairs of Sicily and Naples. Before coming to any decision, Mary passed several weeks praying and deliberating over the matter; and when at last she summoned Renard to her presence, and communicated her resolve to him, her voice, he told the Emperor, was choked with tears. She told him that she had not ceased to implore God to inspire and counsel her, invoking the Blessed Sacrament, which was always reserved in her chamber, as her protector and adviser. Kneeling down, she recited the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, Lady Clarence being the only other person present. Then she rose, and pledged her royal word to marry the Prince of Spain, standing in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament.*

This account of the way in which Mary settled the question of her marriage may have been unknown to Mr. Green when compiling his history, but he is scarcely justified in hastily concluding that "the temptation was great, and Mary's passion overleapt all obstacles."

The first attack came from Gardiner. An Englishman to the backbone, he desired above all that no foreigner should have it in his power to sway the counsels of the nation, and a Spaniard least of any. Philip himself, moreover, was known to be proud and arrogant, and the Chancellor, more inclined to espouse the cause of France than that of Austria, foresaw that a war would probably be the result of the marriage. De Noailles, on his part, at once became uneasy, and urged the ratification of the existing treaties between France and England. This Mary was disinclined to do, for fear of prejudicing her relations with the House of Austria. Paget assured the French Ambassador that the Queen had declared she would never be the one to break the treaty, that neither husband, nor father, nor cousin, would ever make her forget her duty to God and her honour. Between princes of honour, and such as fear God and esteem His promise, she maintained it was the word and not the seal or wax that bound them. Her whole efforts, before and since entering upon this alliance, had been to bring about an

* Renard's "Despatches to the Emperor Charles V. Belgian Archives."

honourable peace between the Emperor and the French King, whose concord should, in her opinion, not a little serve for the furtherance of Christ's Catholic religion, and the universal commodity and surety of Christendom. The French having interfered with some English ships in their passage from Dover to Calais, justified the proceeding by the fact of the non-ratification of the treaties. Mary replied indignantly, through her Ambassador at Paris, that she "meant not to provoke quarrels, but that, if assailed, she would not fail to take such steps as were befitting her honour and safety, not but by the help of Almighty God she should be well enough able to defend herself, her country and subjects, and *meet with any injury that should be any ways offered to her.*" *

The French, in their hatred of Austria, continued to put every obstacle in the way of the marriage, and De Noailles, overstepping his master's instructions, did not scruple to sow the seeds of rebellion in a country to which he was an accredited envoy. Cardinal Pole was known to share Gardiner's opinions regarding the match, and the Emperor, fearing that his influence with the Queen might exceed his own, caused him to be detained as he was proceeding to England, charged with the faculties of a Papal Legate, *pro pace*. Meanwhile the country was in a state of fermentation. Three distinct insurrections broke out in different parts of the kingdom. The Duke of Suffolk, who had not only been pardoned for the part he had taken in his daughter's usurpation, but had been admitted into the Queen's confidence, judged the moment favourable for striking a blow in the cause of the Lady Jane, and effected a rising in the Midland Counties, proclaiming his daughter Queen, at Leicester. Sir Peter Carew raised the standard of revolt in the west, with the object of placing the Princess Elizabeth on the throne, and marrying her to Courtenay; while Sir Thomas Wyatt headed the insurgents in Kent, crying: "The Spaniards are coming to conquer the realm!" This last rising was the only really formidable one of the three, and was caused directly by the party opposed to the marriage, although, among his other inaccuracies, Foxe declared that Wyatt's party "conspired for religion." The other riots were occasioned partly by the furious anti-Catholic element in the country, partly by Suffolk's ambition and treachery; but that the insurrection was not in reality a religious war is proved by the fact that a considerable number of Protestants fought on the Queen's side. Among them was a certain hot-gospeller named Edward Underhill, who fought like a lion in defence of his rightful sovereign, both in the first

* "Calendar of State Papers. Foreign, 1553-1558." Letter to Wotton.

rebellion and against Wyatt. For a time Mary was in the greatest peril. She possessed a strong force of cavalry, but was not so well provided with infantry, and had the rebels marched directly on London the gates would undoubtedly have been thrown open to them. In the confusion, Mary alone was calm and self-possessed. She rode to the Guildhall, and called upon the citizens to stand loyal in her defence. Addressing them, without sign of fear, she declared her confidence in her people, and her conviction that they loved her too well to deliver her into the hands of rebels. "Certainly," she continued, "did I think that this marriage were to the hurt of you, my subjects, or the impeachment of my royal estate, I could never consent thereunto. And I promise you, on the word of a Queen, that if it shall not appear to the Lords and Commons in Parliament to be for the benefit of the whole realm, I will never marry while I live. Wherefore stand fast against these rebels, your enemies and mine; fear them not, for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all; and I will leave with you my Lord Howard, and my Lord Admiral, who will be assistant with the Mayor for your defence."

"In the critical moment," says Mr. Green, truly, "Mary was saved by her queenly courage." Courtenay, breaking into her presence at St. James's, cried out that her troops had surrendered to Wyatt. Not even then did Mary's courage fail, but with a noble and serene bearing, she exclaimed that she would herself ride into the battle, and abide the upshot of her rightful quarrel, or die with the brave men. "God," she said, "will not deceive me, in whom my trust is."

When Wyatt reached Temple Bar he found it, against his expectation, closed, and his friends inside unable to afford him the least help. Four hundred rebels (some records say five hundred) were led into the tilt yard at Whitehall, with ropes round their necks; but the Queen, appearing at a balcony above, pardoned them all, and told them to go home in peace. In a letter, dated March 27th, 1554, Renard tells the Emperor that on Good Friday she had liberated eight other prisoners suspected of being concerned in the revolt. He had told the Queen that he had no right to complain of her having used mercy, but that it would have been better to defer the proceeding until it had been evident whether they were guilty or not, and that she had by her haste to pardon, only increased the number of her enemies and had strengthened Elizabeth's party. With regard to Courtenay, there was, he said, sufficient matter for punishing him; but that it was not clear what part Elizabeth had taken in the insurrection, those who had been in communication with her having escaped. Elizabeth, it may be remarked, invariably contrived that it should not be "clear" what part she had taken in any of

the intrigues in which she was concerned; nevertheless suspicious circumstances came to light daily. Several witnesses came forward to testify to arms and victuals having been supplied to her at Ashridge, where she intended to fortify herself, and Wyatt directly accused her of complicity in his schemes, immediately on his being taken prisoner. Wyatt is everywhere spoken of as a gentleman, brave, accomplished, and honourable, and there was no reason to doubt his word, although Elizabeth had taken care that no clue of her own giving, no line of her own writing, could make it possible to bring treason directly home to herself.

Paget declared that if the proofs were insufficient to justify her death, he saw no other expedient than to get rid of her by marrying her to some foreigner; and the Emperor told Mary that in dealing with her sister it was her duty to consult her own safety, hinting that while such an element of conspiracy was permitted to be at large, Philip might well hesitate before he trusted himself among such dangerous barbarians!* Hereupon the Queen sent for Elizabeth, but that Princess had recourse to her usual plea of sickness. Mary was inclined at one time to believe in her innocence, and at another prepared to restore her to her favour, if Elizabeth had shown the least disposition to frankness, or had thrown herself on her sister's mercy. But in the characteristic words of Kate Ashley, Elizabeth's governess, applicable to her at all times, "She would not cough out more matter than it suited her purpose to confess." On receiving Elizabeth's message that she was ill, and therefore could not obey the Queen's behest, Mary granted her a fortnight's delay, then sent her own litter to fetch her, her three physicians and Lord William Howard, Elizabeth's kinsman and best friend, as an escort. She received the physicians in bed, but they pronounced her able to travel, and she was brought to London in State, where she imperatively demanded an audience of the Queen. Mary replied that she must first clear herself of the charges brought against her. This she refused to do, but protested loudly that she was innocent. The Queen, unwilling to send her to the Tower, asked each Lord in succession to undertake the charge of her in his own house. Not one of them would accept the dangerous office, and Mary was obliged to issue a warrant for her arrest. Elizabeth continued to protest, "with many oaths and curses," and there is no doubt but that she was convinced she should share her unhappy mother's fate.

Foxe complains of the "straight charge" in which she was kept, although it amounted only to this, "that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient licence, that presents

* "Calendar of State Papers."

were examined before being delivered to her, that when she walked in the gardens, the gates were locked, and that the house was patrolled at night by a body of guards !* When she was removed from the Tower, her prison was always a royal palace, her journeys were like royal progresses, and at the country houses at which she rested she was always entertained in a princely fashion. This very mitigated form of captivity lasted but a little over one year when she regained her liberty. Scarcely was the insurrection at an end than Mary was importuned on all sides for the execution of Suffolk and of the Pretenders. Her position was one of much difficulty and danger. Open and avowed attempts were made upon her life by the Reformers who had built their hopes on the success of the rebellions, and who were stung to the quick by their failure. Public prayers were made in the Conventicles for her death ; intolerable insults offered to her religion, her government and her person. Libels on her character were thrown about the streets, seditious and treasonable books written against her ? † It was no longer possible to mistake the revolutionary character of the movement.

To treat the heads of the rebellion with further indulgence, would have been a despicable weakness. Suffolk had not only shown himself unworthy of the clemency he had enjoyed, but in reviving the pretensions of his daughter he had made it plain that as long as she existed there would be no guarantee of peace or security. At the least murmur of discontent she would be made the puppet of religious fanaticism, and a deadly weapon against order and good government. As for Dudley, if Mary had listened to her own desire for leniency "the people," wrote Renard to Charles V., "would have torn him piecemeal had he fallen into their power." The malcontents were insignificant numerically, but they made up in fierce invective, clamour, and turbulence what was wanting to their importance ; and De Noailles was always on the watch, to insinuate motives, and keep alive the seeds of discord he was for ever planting. Lingard, after enumerating the judgments passed upon the chiefs of the conspiracy, observes that "these executions have induced some writers to charge Mary with unnecessary cruelty. Perhaps," he goes on to say, "those who compare her with her contemporaries in similar circumstances will hesitate to subscribe to that opinion. If, on this occasion, sixty of the insurgents were sacrificed to her justice or resentment, we shall find in the history of the next reign that, after a rebellion of a less formidable aspect, some hundreds of victims were required to appease the

* "Calendar of State Papers."

† Milner's "History of the Antiquities of Winchester."

offended majesty of Elizabeth." And in a note, he adds: "If we look at the conduct of Government, after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, we shall not find that the praise of superior lenity is due to more modern times." These statements are the more valuable, because every fact brought to light by the increased facilities of historical research in our day shows that Lingard invariably understated the case for the Catholics, and notably for Queen Mary.

Besides De Noailles, there was another foreign spy, who, under the cloak of an Ambassador, was in secret league with the Protestant party, to render Mary's Government odious. This was the Venetian Envoy Soranzo. As soon as he discovered the Emperor's intention of marrying his son to the Queen of England, he began to see in the projected alliance, a danger to his own Government, on account of the increased importance which would accrue to the Imperial dominions. From that moment he made it his business to intrigue in every possible way against the marriage, so that De Vargas, the Imperial Ambassador at Venice, complained of it to the Signoria, and demanded a cessation of these covert hostilities. Nevertheless, it was Soranzo who furnished Sir Thomas Wyatt with arms and ammunition for the revolt.* Soranzo was recalled soon after this, in the hope that more cordial relations might be established between England and Venice; but his successor, Michiel, proved to be as French in his politics as Soranzo, and in his letters to the Doge his anti-Spanish prejudices are the medium through which all his information is conveyed.

On the day of Lady Jane Grey's execution Courtenay was sent to the Tower. The different construction put upon Mary's conduct by the French and Venetian and the Imperial Ambassadors is curious and instructive. While Renard urges the Emperor to counsel the Queen against yielding too much to her inclination to pardon traitors, De Noailles, the echo of the Venetian Envoy, eager to push the King of France to extremes, expatiates on what he considers Mary's cruelty, in causing her sister to be arrested, and Wyatt and the other promoters of rebellion to be executed.

Lest the King should not be moved hereby to the pitch of indignation required, he cunningly insinuates that it is enough to be suspected of enmity to France to gain Mary's entire favour.

Meanwhile Parliament had assembled, and had ratified the Queen's Marriage Treaty, April 23rd, 1554. Gardiner having had experience of De Noailles' treachery, and foreseeing the con-

* Friedmann. Preface to "*Les Dépêches de Giovanni Michiel*," p. 31.

sequences to which it might lead, withdrew his opposition. The necessity of creating some preponderating influence to parry the French thrusts in the dark, was great, and France had, moreover, by the betrothal of the little Queen of Scots to the Dauphin, taken up a position which threatened the independence of the English Crown. In default of issue by Mary, the next *legitimate* descendant of Henry VIII. was the Queen of Scots, and thus England was in danger of becoming a mere appanage of France. After some debate, in which guarantees were given that no Spaniard should be allowed to take office in the Government, and that the liberties, franchises, and honour of the people should be scrupulously observed, Mary addressed both Houses in a speech which was frequently interrupted by loud acclamations, and shouts of "God save the Queen." At its conclusion Parliament was dissolved, and both Lords and Commons assured her that her husband would be received with every demonstration of duty and affection.

The ratification of the Marriage Treaty on the part of the Emperor and of Philip had already taken place. The Count of Egmont had been sent to espouse the Queen in the name of the Prince of Spain, and had put a costly ring on her finger sent for that purpose by the Emperor on behalf of his son. Mary had taken the opportunity to repeat to Philip's proxy the substance of her declaration to the English people at the Guildhall.

She had not determined to marry through dislike of celibacy, nor had she chosen the Prince of Spain through respect of kindred. In the one and the other her chief object had been to promote the honour of her crown, and to secure the tranquillity of her realm. To her people she had pledged her faith on the day of her coronation; it was her firm resolve to redeem that pledge; nor would she ever permit affection for her husband to seduce her from this—the first, the most sacred of her duties.

Philip landed at Southampton on the 19th July, 1554, on the anniversary of Mary's accession, and remained there four days, in order that the Queen might remove from Windsor Castle to Winchester, which was to be the scene of the marriage ceremonies. He had been invested with the Order of the Garter the moment he set foot on English soil, and the Queen had sent him a Spanish genet with rich trappings, on which he rode to the parish church at Southampton to return thanks for his prosperous voyage, a royal salute having been fired from all the ships in the harbour. He took an oath to observe the laws of the realm. He made the English lords who had been sent to meet him, a Latin speech, in which he told them that he was come to live among them as a native Englishman and not as a foreigner; he

sent the Queen a present of jewels, he dismissed his fleet, only a stipulated number of Spanish grandees and followers being allowed to land, and then set out for Winchester. The descriptions of Philip's person and bearing, of the impression he created, and the manner of his reception by the people, are so conflicting in the different accounts of his arrival that it is difficult to arrive at any certain conclusion. Lingard says that "his youth, the grace of his person, the pleasure displayed in his countenance, charmed the spectators: they saluted him with cries of 'God save your Grace,' and he, turning on either side, expressed his thankfulness for their congratulations."

He is said to have promised to be "grateful, affable, and affectionate," and to have shown his intention of conforming to English customs, by pledging the deputation from the Queen in a tankard of ale. An enthusiastic admirer describes him as "so well proportioned of body, arme, legge, and every other limme to the same, as nature cannot worke a more perfect paterne."

According to the French Ambassador it was necessary to order the people to light bonfires to express the joy which they did not feel.

It is quite true that before this rejoicing demonstration the Mayor was in nearly every street commanding their part in it, in the name of his mistress, the Queen, under the penalty usual in this country, which is no other than penalty of life. So that the affair was rather constraint than affection.*

De Noailles may well be suspected of some exaggeration, all the circumstances considered. He absented himself from the wedding ceremony not only to express the disapprobation of his Royal master, but in order that the Imperial Ambassador might not take precedence of him, the King of France esteeming himself the first and greatest King of all Christendom, Eldest Son of the Church, and very Christian monarch. But in support of his statement is the fact that Philip's portraits, in no way, answer to the eulogistic descriptions we have quoted. His dull, colourless complexion, his long serious face unrelaxed by a smile, his sandy hair, his cold unsympathetic glance might well have failed to attract at first sight, while we know from subsequent events that by his haughty bearing, his taciturn and suspicious manner, he won for himself later on the fear and dislike of the English nation. It is therefore most probable that the bulk of the people

* "Bien est vrai qu'avant la démonstration de cette réjouissance, le maire fut presque par toutes les rues pour leur en faire commandement de la part de la reine sa maîtresse, sur la peine accoutumée en ce pays, qui n'est autre que de la vie; de façon qu'il ya eu en cela plus de contrainte que d'affection."—*M. De Noailles à M. le Connétable, 23 juillet, 1554.*

were neither carried away with enthusiasm, nor altogether apathetic. They had protested against the marriage, their protests had been overruled, and with that doggedness, which is as much a part of the English character as is their native pluck, they put as good a face upon the matter as they could.

Philip arrived at Winchester on the 23rd, and took up his lodging in the Bishop's palace, and the next day he saw Mary for the first time. On the 25th, the Feast of St. James of Compostella, the Patron Saint of Spain, the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner.

The Queen, with a gallant train of lords and ladies, and Philip with Figuera, the latter's father, the emperor's ambassador, and other foreigners of distinction, repaired to the Cathedral. Here they were received with the utmost solemnity by the bishop and his clergy, who conducted them to the chapel of the Queen's patroness, the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was chosen for the scene of this important ceremony. As soon as this was concluded, the ambassador, in the name of the emperor, presented Philip with an instrument, by which he conferred upon him the kingdom of Naples with its dependencies. This, in some degree, put the royal pair upon a footing of equality. Accordingly, the trumpets being sounded, they were solemnly proclaimed by the following style, in the English, Latin, and French languages: *Philip and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; Counts of Habsburgh, Flanders, and Tyrol.* This done, the King and Queen marched out of the church together, hand in hand, and two swords were carried before them, to denote their distinct capacities in the public government.*

In the accomplishment of this union Mary had triumphed over the Revolution; she had shown that the old Tudor spirit had not departed from her sceptre, but that, more than any other Tudor, she had the best interests of the people at heart, and was willing to sacrifice everything to them saving her conscience and honour. In pursuit of this end she had reached the summit of what little happiness fell to her lot; and the rest of her days were "few and evil."

J. M. STONE.

* Milner's "Antiquities of Winchester," p. 270.

ART. VI.—THE TYPICAL CHARACTER OF THE COVENANT SACRIFICE.

THE close parallelism between the sacrifice at the foot of Mount Sinai with that of our Divine Lord on the Cross seems to have been somewhat strangely overlooked ; and yet it is so striking in many particulars as to cause the idea at once to arise that it was designedly typical.

And I use the word typical here to express not merely a resemblance, but a foreshowing, as distinct and precise as any verbal prophecy. Indeed a type, strictly so-called, is a prophecy, but expressed by facts instead of by words ; and it is no less divine in its origin and purpose, and no less powerful in producing conviction than a prophecy that is expressed verbally.

Types, however, are of different classes : some being expressly declared to be such by our Lord Himself—as, for instance, Jonas being swallowed by the whale, and restored to land, or the manna in the wilderness. The former was expressly intended by God as a symbol of our Lord's death and resurrection, and the latter of the Holy Eucharist. To this class must be added any other types mentioned as such in Holy Scripture—as, for example, the Flood, which is expressly mentioned by St. Peter (1 Pet. iii. 21) as a figure of Baptism.

In a second class may be placed such facts and events as are quoted as typical in the office or liturgy of the Church—such as the sacrifice of Melchisedec, quoted in the Missal in reference to the Mass, or the Tabernacle which, in the Office of the Immaculate Conception, is alluded to as a type of our Lady. “*Sanctificavit tabernaculum suum Altissimus.*”

A third class of types is made up of those mentioned as such in the writings of the Fathers, which are very numerous.

All these are types and prophetic beyond doubt, and serve to connect most closely the Patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations with the Christian one, for which those earlier dispensations were intended as preparative.

But besides these we may form a fourth class of such types as appear to be such from their accurate correspondence with the events and facts of Christianity ; and this, because St. Paul assures us (Rom. xv. 4) that “*what things soever were written, were written for our learning, that through patience and the comfort of the Scriptures we might have hope ;*” while if we rejected a symbolical meaning, much of that which is written in Holy Scripture would be altogether without meaning to us. And again,

St. Augustine, speaking of the Israelites, says, "Whatever that people suffered in the desert, and whatever God bestowed on them, both their punishments and their gifts are symbols of the things which we who are walking with Christ, and seeking the true land through the wilderness of this life, receive for our consolation, and suffer for our good" (St. Aug. Enar. in Ps. 72-3).

From these words we may gather that every rite and ceremony observed by the Jews not only had a special meaning for them, but was also symbolical, even in its details, of some doctrine or practice of the Christian Dispensation; and that, therefore, every analogy and similitude which we may notice between the observances of the Jews and those of the New Law may be regarded as an intentional type, at least of the fourth of the classes which I have enumerated.

That the explanation of a type appears at first sight to be far-fetched, or anything but obvious, does not in any way disprove its truly prophetic character. No one would have thought that the life of the world to come was prophesied in the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob," had not our Lord told us that this was really a part of their meaning; nor without a similar Divine assurance should we probably have known that His death, burial, and resurrection were prefigured in Jonas being swallowed by the whale.

Hence we may well expect to find a real meaning, even if it require looking for, in the details of an event which we know with certainty to have been typical as a whole. That the sacrifice at Mount Sinai was a type of the Crucifixion of our Lord is beyond all doubt; and I think it is worth while calling attention to it, not merely as a very interesting and instructive figure of the basis of our worship as Christians, but also for the simple and sufficient answer that it seems to afford to the common Protestant difficulty with regard to the sacrifice of the Mass, founded on the meaning of the word ἱφάραξ in Heb. x. 10.

It may be well here to recall the order of the events which led up to the offering of the Covenant Sacrifice.

Before the Israelites left Egypt, although they were descended from a common father, and possessed traditions alike as to family and religion, they possessed no organisation that could entitle them to be styled a nation. This name became theirs for the first time on the great day of their deliverance, when they set out, 600,000 men besides women and children, and a great "mixed multitude," on their journey towards Succoth. This mixed multitude was probably made up of proselytes, persons connected with the Israelites by marriage, and such as joined them either from curiosity or fear of approaching destruction in Egypt. The whole number, hitherto unorganised, and perhaps slaves

of different masters, now became one body by virtue of their submission and obedience to Moses.

Being now collected and formed into a nation under a single ruler, God Himself appeared as their guide in the Pillar of Cloud and Fire.

Then followed a series of miracles at the Red Sea, Mara, and Raphidim.

At Sinai God promised them that they should be to Him a priestly kingdom and a holy nation, and then gave them the Ten Commandments and the Moral Law. These were followed by the 33 Precepts of the Civil Law, and when these had all been reduced to writing by Moses, there followed the Special Covenant Sacrifice, to which I now call your attention.

It is thus described in the Book of Exodus (chap. xxiv. 4-11):—

“And Moses rising in the morning built an altar at the foot of the Mount, and twelve titles according to the twelve Tribes of Israel; and he sent young men of the children of Israel, and they offered holocausts, and sacrificed pacific victims of calves to the Lord.

“Then Moses took half of the blood and put it into bowls; and the rest he poured upon the altar; and, taking the book of the Covenant, he read it in the hearing of the people, and they said: All things that the Lord hath spoken we will do, we will be obedient.

“And he took the blood and sprinkled it upon the people, and he said, ‘This is the blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words.’”

To this account St. Paul adds a few particulars which were, doubtless, in his time well known to Jewish tradition. He says (Heb. ix. 19, 22):

“When every commandment of the law had been read by Moses to all the people, he took the blood of calves and goats with water, and scarlet wool and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people, saying: This is the Blood of the Testament which God hath enjoined unto you. The tabernacle also, and all the vessels of the ministry, in like manner, he sprinkled with blood; and almost all things, according to the law, are cleansed with blood; and without shedding of blood there is no remission.”

This Covenant sacrifice was followed by a special sacrificial meal, which is thus described (Exod. xxiv. 9-11):

“Then Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abiu, and seventy of the Ancients of Israel went up; and they saw the God of Israel: and under His feet, as it were, a work of sapphire stone, and as the heaven, when clear. Neither did He lay His hand upon

those of the children of Israel that retired afar off; and they saw God, and they did eat and drink."

On this description of what happened, Dr. Edersheim, a learned Jew, who became a Protestant clergyman, makes this remark:

"This Covenant sacrifice with the sprinkling of blood and sacrificial meal that followed it, formed the most important transaction in the whole history of Israel. By this one sacrifice, never renewed, Israel was formally set apart as the people of God; and it lay at the foundation of all the sacrificial worship which followed. Only *after* it did God institute the tabernacle, the priesthood, and all its services."

It is not a little singular that so remarkable a foreshadowing of the death of our Lord on the Cross should have received so little attention from commentators.

Amongst the existing Jewish writings of early times there are many minute commentaries on the details of the ritual of the Old Law, but none, I believe, on their spiritual significance; though the passage above quoted from St. Paul shows plainly that in his time the shedding of blood had a special meaning, and was commonly connected in the minds of the Jews with the remission of sins. They were well aware that in the sacrificial system of the Mosaic Law blood was looked upon as the very seat of life (Gen. ix. 4; Deut. xii. 23; Lev. xvii. 2, &c.), and by the shedding of blood its life was not considered as destroyed, but as separated from the body it had quickened (Gen. iv. 10; Heb. xii. 24; Apoc. vi. 10).

Turning to Catholic commentators, I have not met with any who specially point out the typical character of this sacrifice as contrasted with those of the Levitical Law. They notice, however, as one might expect, many minor points of interest connected with it.

Thus St. Augustine (*Quæst. in Ex.* 453) notes that the twelve stones of which the altar was built indicate that the people are the altar of God, as they are also His temple. He seems here to assume that tiles or columns of stone actually formed the altar. He also notes that the sacrifice was a "hostia salutaris" (in the Septuagint, *συνριπίου*), and signified Christ our Lord Himself.

Tostatus (*Com. in Exod.* c. xxiv.), speaking on the twelve stones, remarks that at that time the tribe of Joseph was not divided, as the Levites were not yet separated to the Divine ministry.

Calves only are mentioned in the text of Exodus, but it is clear from St. Paul's words that these were not the only victims, and Tostatus thinks that while twelve calves were offered as holocausts, many other cattle were offered as peace offerings, so that

the whole people might be able to eat and rejoice. At this time the special laws regarding the sacrifices of the Old Law had not been given; only two kinds of sacrifice were known—holocausts and offerings for sin or peace offerings. No distinction had been then made between peace offerings and sin offerings, and no prohibition then existed to eat of sin offerings. Hence this one sacrifice partook of the nature of all the separate kinds afterwards distinguished, although the victims were subsequently eaten in the sacrificial meal.

As to the “juvenes” who slew the victims, Menochius (Ex. xxiv. 5) notes that in the Chaldaean version they are called the “first-born of the sons of Israel,” and Tostatus describes them as the eldest sons of the twelve Princes of the Children of Israel, who were priests according to the law of nature. Dionysius the Carthusian mentions this opinion, and also one that supposes them to have been the sons of Aaron, whom God intended subsequently to call to the priesthood. All seem to agree, however, that those selected held a place of dignity and nobility among the people.

These young men, whoever they were, actually slew the victims, while Moses himself, as St. Augustine notes, took a share in the act of sacrifice by his pouring the blood; and it is remarkable that this is the first time that Holy Scripture plainly speaks of his offering sacrifice, though there was some mention of sacrifice in his talk with Jethro (Exod. xviii. 12).

The next point which is touched on by the commentators is that of the sprinkling of the blood. We learn from St. Paul that water was mixed with this blood, possibly, as Tostatus suggests, to prevent its congelation. In this mixture, however, Theophylact sees a symbol of the blood and water which came forth from the wound in our Lord's side. The sprinkling was made with a bundle of hyssop, probably bound together with scarlet wool—the wool indicating, according to Theophylact, our Lord led as a sheep to the slaughter, and the scarlet colour meaning His blood.*

The sprinkling of the book and people was made with a ceremonial solemnity by Moses, saying, “This is the Blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you”—words precisely parallel to those of our Lord, “This is the Blood of the New Testament”; as the sprinkling itself reminds us of the saying of the Jews, “His blood be upon us, and on our children.” For two things were signified by this sprinkling—firstly, the purification of the thing sprinkled by the blood; and, secondly, the punishment to be incurred by those who violated the covenant thus ratified.

It has been noticed that as there were two parties to the Divine

* “Speaker's Commentary” on 1 Cor. xi. 25.

arrangement—God and man—the blood was divided into two halves, one for sprinkling on the altar with a view to reconciliation; the other, as given back from the altar for sprinkling on the people, with a view to cleansing or purification. The blood thus was regarded as one in itself, two in its uses.

After the sacrifice, but closely connected with it, was the sacrificial meal which followed, and of which Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abiu, and the seventy Elders of Israel partook. Of these it is said (Exod. xxiv. 10), "and they saw the God of Israel." Not, of course, in His invisible essence, but, as Dionysius the Carthusian says (in Exod. art. 46), in an assumed form or human likeness.

Tostatus seems to think that the whole of the people actually ate and drank, but St. Augustine says (Exod. xxiv. 9) that this privilege was limited to those expressly named, and that the seventy Elders were called up "in the person of those who are elected among the people of God."

It would therefore seem evident that this sacrifice, which was the ratification of the Covenant with God, on which all the subsequent worship and ceremonial of the Old Law was based, and in connection with which all the people saw God in a human form, was a true type or prophecy of the great sacrifice once offered on Mount Calvary, which is the basis of all our Christian worship and sacraments.

To see this more clearly it may be well to consider some of the points of detail in which the type was fulfilled.

1. First, we may notice that the precepts of the Civil Law by which the Israelites were to be governed, both as a nation and as to their individual conduct, were given *before* this Covenant Sacrifice; so in the New Covenant our Divine Lord laid down the laws by which we are to regulate our lives as members of His kingdom, during the three years' teaching that preceded His crucifixion.

2. The sacrifice by which the Covenant was ratified with Israel was not offered by the Aaronic priesthood, to whom alone was to pertain the offering of the sacrifices of the Old Law; but young men were chosen for the purpose, of the noblest rank of the tribes who made up the chosen nation of which God was the King; so the sacrifice on Mount Calvary was not offered by the ministry of the Christian priesthood, to whom alone it was given to offer the Sacrifice of the New Law; but, by the instrumentality of Romans, who were the noblest nation of the Gentiles, for in the New Law all nations are to be included as subjects of the one Kingdom of Christ.

3. The Sacrifice offered at Mount Sinai was offered once for all, and never repeated; all the Levitical sacrifices that followed

it were dependent on it, and acceptable to God only through the covenant ratified by it; so the Sacrifice on Mount Calvary was offered once for all, and needs no repetition, for the Sacrifice of the Mass, now daily offered, is offered in an unbloody manner and procures for us all the benefits of the Blood once shed on Calvary.

4. The Covenant Sacrifice was not intended as a daily act of worship, but was the seal and basis of the dispensation which it inaugurated. A provision was made for its renewal and commemoration in the Old Law by a fourfold system of typical sacrifice, since the Old Law was one of type and promise, and the intentions for which sacrifice is offered are four in number—viz., supreme adoration, thanksgiving, the obtaining pardon for sin, and petition for particular favours and graces. Whilst in the Old Law each of these purposes had its own special typical sacrifice, in the New Law the Sacrifice of Mount Calvary is perpetually renewed by a sacrifice which is substantial, not typical, and offered for the same four ends.

5. It was *after* the Covenant Sacrifice that God gave to Moses minute instructions as to the ceremonial worship and the services of the Old Law; similarly, it was during the forty days *after* the Sacrifice on Mount Calvary that our Lord gave His Apostles directions for the worship of the New Law and the administration of the sacraments.

These similarities and parallelisms would alone seem to be sufficient grounds for considering the Covenant Sacrifice to be a true type of that on Mount Calvary.

But we may claim a much higher authority for the assertion of its truly typical character. For St. Paul (Heb. ix. 23), speaking of the ordinances which were the only outward means of grace for the Jews under the Mosaic Law, says of them that they themselves were cleansed by blood, and that they were "patterns of heavenly things." He then adds that the "heavenly things" themselves, *i.e.*, the ordinances of the New Law, of which the Jewish ones were types, depend for their value on better sacrifices; or, in other words, that while the Levitical rites derive their justifying value from the Covenant Sacrifice, the Sacraments of the New Law derive theirs from the great sacrifice on Mount Calvary. His words are: "It is necessary, therefore, that the patterns of heavenly things should be cleansed with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these" (Heb. ix. 23).

We have therefore the authority of Holy Scripture for the typical and prophetic character of this sacrifice; and the recognition of this fact might help to convince those out of the Church that the type cannot end here. If the Covenant Sacrifice typifies

that of Mount Calvary, the subsequent Levitical sacrifices which rested on it, and were the application of it, must themselves have antitypes in the ordinances of Christianity.

If the full typical and prophetic character of this Covenant Sacrifice be admitted, it follows that the worship of Sacrifice cannot have come to an end with Mount Calvary. For there, as at Mount Sinai, the Covenant Sacrifice, the basis of our reconciliation and worship, was offered once for all; but the worship of sacrifice which depends upon it must be continued daily, or the four-fold sacrifices of the Old Law would have no meaning, and would not be, as St. Paul calls them, "patterns" or types "of heavenly things."

Nor is it in controversy only that this great typical teaching is of value. It is a distinct prophecy of the sacrificial and sacramental system of the Church. And it is of no little importance that Christians should recognise a prophecy of this system as a whole.

Indeed, the primary object of types and symbols was not controversy, but the edification of those who believe. So St. Paul teaches (in 1 Cor. x. 11) that the things that happened to the Israelites in figure were written for our correction, upon whom the ends of the world are come.

Temptations against faith are of two kinds; those which arise upon particular doctrines or details, and those which assail the whole revealed system—the latter perhaps are specially characteristic of our own time. Prophecies are of great value in confirming faith, and overthrowing both these classes of temptation; and perhaps such a type as that we have been considering may be of help to some, as presenting a distinct confirmation and corroboration of the main system of the sacrificial worship of the Church.

In some respects teaching by type is more effective than teaching in plain words. For words appeal chiefly to the understanding, while a type impresses the imagination and memory as well.

I have passed over all passages in which the sacrifice of Mount Sinai is mentioned in connection with the Holy Eucharist or the Mass; my object being to show that, although it may have more than one meaning, its special value as a prophecy lies in its foreshadowing what was to happen on Mount Calvary; and that, not merely as all sacrifices of Patriarchal or Mosaic times foreshowed it, but in an especial manner as the Sacrifice once offered on which all other worship must rest.

I may perhaps add two remarks to what I have said on this subject. First, I notice that simple analogy has a very powerful effect in producing conviction in the human mind. It is not, perhaps,

so much that it produces certainty itself, as a sort of sense of certainty ; it has what may be called a "clinching" effect in fixing and confirming the conclusions arrived at by the intelligence. Mere analogy, though its evidence is probable only and not demonstrative, is sufficient, according to Bishop Butler, in certain degrees to create the highest moral certainty. Few persons can have read carefully his treatise on the "Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature" without feeling how great is the force of his argument in support of religion, and yet it rests simply on evidence which is in itself only probable, though cumulative. A true type has all this convincing force of analogy, and something more, for it is, as I have said, a real prophecy.

Secondly, Of the practical effect of analogies on the minds of men we have a very remarkable instance in the history of the religious body known as Irvingites. Starting from Scotch Presbyterianism, they were led on by a series of supposed symbols which they believed they saw in Holy Scripture, to a very highly sacramental system and a very elaborate ritual. Every detail in their organisation and worship having been arranged in accordance with a mystical explanation of the details of the construction of the tabernacle of Moses, it is no matter of surprise that very extensive analogies are to be seen between the two. This system of false symbolism has so great a power of conviction with them, that very few of their number are ever converted to the Catholic Church ; although they have fully admitted the necessity of Apostolic authority in the Church to which even the bishops must be subject, and the need of a perpetual teaching of the Holy Ghost in the Church—two doctrines which would be quite sufficient to bring any ordinary well-disposed Protestant to recognise the Catholic Church as the One Church of God. The positive evidence offered by the Irvingites in support of their own apostles and hierarchy is so weak that few would be convinced by it, yet the pre-arranged analogies on which their system is based are so numerous and exact as to exercise the greatest hold upon their imaginations.

Does not this suggest that we might make more use than we do of the argument of true symbolism in confuting those who are in error, and confirming those who have the Faith ?

W. J. B. RICHARDS.

ART. VII.—WERE THERE FOUR MONTHS BEFORE THE HARVEST?

AN EXAMINATION OF JOHN IV. 35.

Οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἔρχεται; Say ye not there are yet four months, and then the harvest cometh? John iv. 35.

AT the outset it may be well to give very briefly and without any attempt to justify it, the chronological order here followed, of some of the earlier events of the public life of our Lord. Without this the treatment of the time of year when our Lord sat by the Sychar well, and spoke with the Samaritan woman, would be hardly intelligible.

It will be evident to any one at all acquainted with the harmonical difficulties of the Ministry, that the subjoined list of approximate dates does not pretend to any kind of finality. Probably every statement in it has been controverted a hundred times over, not only by conflicting assertion, but by volumes of argument. Take one example: An incident will be here mentioned apparently lightly—that is, no single argument will be given for fixing the time of its occurrence, and yet round this unnamed feast of John v. 1. commentators have done battle since the days of St. Irenæus, and will in all likelihood protract the dispute to the end of time and the day of full knowledge.

For the opinion that this feast was Pentecost, we have nearly the whole of the Greek Church, Cyril of Alexandria, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Origen (most probably), Euthymius, Theophylactus, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, Maldonatus, Calvin, Beza, Westcott and Hort (apparently). In support of the Pasch, there is a great array of names, among others, St. Irenæus (probably), Bengel, Bishop Middleton, John Lightfoot, Luther, Scaliger, Grotius, Kuinoel, Coleridge, Corluy, Bloomfield, Erasmus, Lohmann, Greswell, à Lapide, Archbishop McEvilly, Martini, Fouard, Fillion, Reischl, Grimm. For Purim, a feast more rollicking than religious, there are Kepler,* Petavius, Lange, Bishop Ellicott (favourable) Canon Cook (favourable), Archdeacon Farrar, Olshausen, Meyer, Wieseler,† Stier, Lamy, Winer, Lücke,

* The first advocate of Purim.

† This very learned critic is strongly opposed to the Pasch theory. Greek scholars instinctively feel that if ἡ is omitted before ἐσπρή in John v. 1, the feast cannot be the Pasch. Of the omission of the article, Wieseler says. "Exegetisch und Kritisch steht das Resultat fest, dass der Artikel ἡ . . . spätere Correctur ist." Chronolog. Synopse der vier Evangelien.

Neander. The claims of the Feast of Dedication are supported by Ebrard, and those of the Day of Atonement by Caspari. Dean Alford can come to no conclusion whatever.

The following is the rough outline of the scheme of which the following criticism on John iv. 35 forms a part—not so much a logical part, for my contention about the harvest verse would stand, though the general scheme were to fall, but a chronological part, the time-relation of which to other parts, must be shown :

The Baptism and Fast over, near the end of March.

The Wedding at Cana, end of March.

Our Lord leaves Cana for Capharnaum with His Mother for some days.

Leaves Galilee for Jerusalem for the first Pasch, middle of April. Signs worked on this occasion chiefly for His fellow-Galileans. Same occasion, interview with Nicodemus.

Leaves Jerusalem for the desert to baptise through his disciples, while the Baptist was baptising near Salim.

Stays in the desert about a fortnight (according to some, many months).

Leaves the desert to begin the Galilean Mission, last day of April.*

On His way passes through Sychar, meets the Samaritan woman ; SPEAKS OF THE HARVEST WHILE LOOKING AT THE RIPE FIELDS. *John* iv. 35.

Moves north. Beginning of the Galilean Mission with Capharnaum for base, early in May.†

Interruption of Mission for journey to Jerusalem for Pentecost. (*John* v. 1.). One miracle worked, that on the Paralytic, rather early in June.

Immediate return. The Galilean Mission resumed.

From this point we must occupy ourselves with the passage through Samaria and the mention of the Harvest.

What then was the date of this event ?

From a very large and learned body of critics the answer comes readily : It was four months from the April Harvest. Therefore it was December.

* In parts lower than the slopes of Gerizim, harvest had already begun. "Harvest began about middle of April, and lasted till end of May." Dr. Tristram, "The Land of Israel," p. 583.

† It was in the month of April I visited this holy place on the Jordan. It was already the time of harvest, for the people of Jericho were reaping their little fields up on the plain." Rev. J. L. Porter, "The Giant Cities of Bashan," p. 110.

The Samaritan harvest was later. See, too, the admirable section on the Bible Calendar in "Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible."

† Origen says ad loc. very remarkably, *ὡς νεώστει τοῦ πάσχα προγενημένου καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ*. The Speaker's Commentary quite inconsistent with this.

Before we enter on a close examination of the text, it will be useful to show the immense importance and wide bearings of this conclusion on the after life of our Lord. The advocates of the midwinter theory must necessarily proceed to argue thus:

Christ passed up to Galilee through Samaria in December, spent the following January and February in the north. Soon after came a Pasch. It was not the "Pasch of Miraculous Bread" (John vi. 4), for if it was, the Galilean Mission proper, which ended about the time of the multiplication of loaves would have occupied an impossibly short space. Therefore we must suppose another Pasch between the "Nicodemus" Pasch, and that of the Miraculous Bread. This Pasch which we are compelled to insert can be no other than the unnamed feast of John v. 1.

To me this reasoning seems unreasonable, once we grant that the journey through Samaria was made in winter. But we need not linger over it. It is only given to show the greatness of the views involved in the date of the words spoken in John iv. 35 about the harvest.

A very large body of critics, not less eminent than the first, maintain that the time was summer. So far we are fortunate in having them with us, but at this very point they are confronted by a difficulty which they meet in one way and we in another.

If we succeed in making good our solution, two results will follow:—first, the summer theory will have its one serious drawback removed; secondly, the midwinter theory will have to be abandoned.

The difficulty thus differently met affords a very interesting and instructive chapter in the history of Gospel criticism, and calls for a somewhat detailed examination here. At first sight it is very formidable indeed. "Say not ye there are four months and then the harvest cometh?" How could the time be summer if the corn has yet to grow for four months? Nothing, perhaps, shows so much the strength of the conviction that it was summer, as the nature of the answer returned. Rather than give up that enchanting picture of the warm summer day, and the shady tree, and the cool well, and the tired but majestic figure waiting for a drink at the hands of the wondering and abashed woman, it is worth while to make a sacrifice, but it should not be the sacrifice of reason or any sound canon of criticism. The answer given by the upholders of the theory under consideration, appears to me lame and unsatisfactory in the highest degree, and but for the number of commentators who have accepted it since it was first proposed, some three hundred years ago, it might be a little difficult to give it a patient hearing. It is this. The companions of our Lord on the journey, or the country people about, had some saying touching the harvest—some kind of agricultural saw embodying

the wisdom or the expectations of the farmers of Samaria. What precise form the saying took is never conjectured. The most that commentators will commit themselves to is, that probably the people had some way of heartening one another to look forward to an ingathering of fruits some four months off. There is, besides, a conspicuous dearth of anything like parallel examples taken from the husbandry, either of antiquity or modern times. No other people is said to have had a similar saying to this "proverb," the proverbial character of which is very obscure. There is no shred of evidence to indicate the existence of any such expression as to the four months. What could the Samaritans or Apostles have meant by it? If the fields were at this moment ripe, it is hard to see the relevancy of the remark about a harvest still distant. Or did those who used the expression to our Lord go back in mind to the sowing time? But if there was a popular proverb in vogue at sowing time, it could scarcely take this form. It would more likely refer to an interval between sowing and reaping, that was longer than four months. On most of the table-land of Samaria, with a temperature much lower than that of the Jordan valley, neither barley nor wheat could ripen much sooner than in England, and a four months' crop is, as far as I know, an impossibility with us. "Barley was sown in October or beginning of November, ripened in March, and was generally cut in April" (Dictionary of the Bible, Art. "Wheat"). Wheat is of slower growth. Sown about October or November as with us, it was reaped by the Jews "towards the end of April or May or June, according to the difference of soil and position" (*Ibid.*) Pliny, indeed, speaks of a "bimestre," but it grew "circa Thracium sinum." This is very fast growth, but the opinion of botanists might perhaps bear out Pliny, and confirm our faith in his veracity. He is on safer ground when he rebukes the sceptical Columella, another scientific farmer, for doubting of the existence of a *trimestre* corn (Hist. Nat. 18 17). Theophrastus, too, speaks of this same corn ὃ καλοῦσι τρίμηνον διὰ τὸ ἐν τοσοῦτῃ τελειοῦσθαι (His. Plant. 8. 1). But in Palestine, or least of all in Samaria, there was no "three-month" or "four-month" grain of any kind.

Again, is it probable that when the corn was about a month and a half in the ground, a proverb should go the rounds to the effect that four months more remained. It is quite conceivable that there should be agricultural sayings, or even witticisms, at the two terminal points of sowing and reaping, but not at regular intervals between. Supposing that this was reaping time, a "proverb" referring to reaping as four months off would be singularly ill-timed. On this theory one can hardly make the smallest calculation about time without committing oneself to a "proverb." Is "three days more" a proverb? Most

of the disciples hailed from the busy marts of Galilee, and were not likely to indulge in harvest proverbs.

It was said above that the theory of the proverb was started some three hundred years ago. Among modern critics it has become very popular. They seem to forget that it has a poisoned source, for its author was no other than the Jesuit Maldonatus (see Suicer, *ad voc.* τετράμηνον).

It seems, then, that some other explanation must be given of the remark of the Apostles, afterwards repeated by our Lord. "Have not you been saying?" (οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε).*

It must not, however, be thought that the advocates of the midwinter time of John iv. 35 have not a grave, though not as grave a difficulty to meet. For the question naturally arises: If it was winter, how could our Lord say with any propriety, "Behold I say to you, lift up your eyes, and see the country that it is white already to harvest." The following explanation has received so wide an acceptance, especially among German critics, that one is tempted to think that the gregarious instinct is not wholly wanting in that great nation.

It is said that Christ had no such field before Him, but seeing the crowds whose curiosity had been roused by the woman's story approaching Him, He took occasion to raise the minds of His Apostles to the contemplation of the true harvest, which is souls. Pointing to the advancing throngs, He said, "This is the country that, irrespective of the times and seasons of the natural world, is white unto the harvest. Be filled with a great longing to reap." Of this explanation I think it may be said, "Qui potest capere, capiat." I confess, with a becoming sense of confusion, that I find it difficult to see how these critics have our Lord or His Apostles in mind at all. This was not His way with them. As easy is it to believe that there was no real well or no real water to serve as the type of the living water; that there was no real food offered Him, which led Him to speak of the food of His Father's will; that there were no real birds overhead when He uplifted His eyes, and said, "Behold the birds of the air"; that there were no real flowers of the field to point the moral of trust in the Father; no real bread given to prepare the minds of His hearers to accept the greater gift of the Bread from Heaven; no weeping over the real city of Jerusalem, but only over a picture of the imagination—these things are not much harder to believe

* It is certain that both Greek and Latin possess the time-concept expressed by our paraphrastic tenses, like "I have been speaking." "I had been expecting." (See Xen. Ana. i. 2, 22; Cic. ad Att. i. 4.) No word like Jampridem is required to give this meaning. By omitting altogether this form, the Revisers seem to have missed the point of two verbs in John vii. 1. Cf. John xvii. 9. Also John vii. 21.

than that there was no corn waving white on the uplands of Samaria, when Christ bade His Apostles lift their eyes and see the fields, and after He and they had gazed on the glorious scene, drew them gently on to consider the nobler harvest for which He destined His reapers.

Yet there seems to be very little misgiving on the part of those who prefer the purely metaphorical interpretation. Lange, for instance, must surely forget that the Apostles at this stage of their training were not as well informed as he concerning the peculiarly Christian signification of a "Harvest of Souls." Much has been written about the ignorance of the Apostles, and much exaggeration indulged in, with the view no doubt of enhancing the wonderful patience of our Lord. Archdeacon Farrar, for instance, with that habit of declamatory denunciation which has become a second nature to him, and has borne bitter fruit in his latest work, sometimes allows himself to lapse into an unseemly degree of scorn for the dull wits of the Apostles. But while this spirit of underrating them is much to be deprecated, it would be folly to claim for them during the years of the ministry any high degree of spiritual intelligence. We may take it as certain, that if there was no physical foundation for the metaphorical language of our Lord (John iv. 36-38), the lesson which He undoubtedly wished to emphasise was lost on His hearers, while there is no reason to suppose that a metaphor, which to say the least was far-fetched, was cleared up by our Lord on His being further questioned by His puzzled Apostles.

It is quite true that the Apostles very often misunderstood the *spiritual* side of our Lord's allusions, but unless I am mistaken, there is no single instance in which He did not take particular care to make the *material* side of His similes and metaphors perfectly clear. Thus, by giving His Apostles a solid basis to begin with, He succeeded in stimulating their curiosity to obtain an insight into His spiritual meaning. If the material element was not palpably presented to their eyes, the mental state in which His figurative language would have invariably left them, would have been one of sheer bewilderment.

Is it then probable that the invitation of our Lord to gaze (*θεάσασθε*) on that beautiful summer prospect, and thus to attune their minds to the lesson He was about to teach, was equivalent to an excessive demand on slow intelligences, to see a "harvest" in a crowd of men and women? We have the New Testament to help us, and yet we are often slow of heart, but in the Old Testament there is no sort of analogue that could have aided the Apostles in their perplexity. "What are we to look at? And why?" Surely men must forget that this day at Sychar was the birthday of the metaphor so familiar to us, and that a metaphor

takes its rise in tangible and visible and non-metaphorical things.

Enough has been said about the main difficulties involved in the midwinter and summer interpretations. It is time to turn to the text itself, and see what information it yields. First of all, is there any doubt as to its genuineness? There is absolutely none. The variants, too, are of slight moment. Critics are not disconcerted by the omission of *ἐτι* from Codex D (Bezae). They account for it by "Homœoteleuton"—that is, similarity of ending with the preceding *ἐτι*. But though D is thus at variance with the great uncials *N*, *A*, *B*, *C*, &c., it is not alone. Besides a number of Cursives which omit the particle, among them being the Codex Leicestrensis collated by Scrivener, the Syriac version (Cureton's), St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril, Theophylactus, Origen (some say five times, others eight) give the text without the *ἐτι*.

Of greater importance is the reading of the Textus Receptus *τετράμηνον* instead of *τετράμηνος*. Griesbach rejects the neuter form, Mill keeps it.* It seems not unreasonable to conjecture that there was once some difficulty in understanding the meaning of the *τετράμηνος*, for which the Codex authority is overwhelming. This question will reappear later on. It has its value as a probable symptom that there was a little hesitation about the meaning of this very rare word, only once used in the Gospels, and which I am inclined to think the Evangelist could never have picked up except among Asiatic Greeks.

In our further inquiry, we shall assume that the usual reading with both *ἐτι* and *τετράμηνος* is absolutely correct.

Is the translation so? The answer we are about to give to this question would never be given if *τετράμηνος* were not a very unusual word, if it were not liable to be mistaken even by the learned, much as scores of Shakespearean words like "Chrisom," "Nine men's morris," &c., may be misunderstood even by eminent English scholars; lastly and chiefly, this paper would not have been written at all, were not the instances of *τετράμηνος* in Greek literature so few, that with a little diligence, an inquirer might arrive at something like a perfect induction on the point.

Our thesis then may be: The translation of *τετράμηνος* by "four-months" or anything equivalent to this, is impossible.

As some little apology for this round assertion, it may be said that neither the Revisers nor the Douay translators† can have been absolutely satisfied with their work on this text. There

* See Bruder, Scholz, Schleusner.

† For the "four months" of the Douay translation, it may be said once for all that it did what it professed to do—that is, translated nothing but the "Quatuor menses" of the Vulgate. The Authorised Version, left unchanged by the Revisers, professed to render *τετράμηνος*.

must be some difficulty about it; else no scholar would have been reduced to the extraordinary device of inserting without a shadow of warrant from the original, the word *then*—thus, “There are yet four months and *then* the harvest cometh.” This purports to be a translation of *ἔτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμὸς ἐρχεται*.

The fact seems to be that an analogy which I cannot help regarding as false, strongly influences the minds of translators of this verse. Expressions beginning with “yet,” “adhuc,” *ἔτι*, *ἔτι*—for they are all the same—are exceedingly common in Scripture. The “yet” introduces the phrase; there comes a measure of time; then an event that is to take place when that measure is fulfilled. The following examples from the Vulgate are to the point. “Adhuc paululum modicumque et consummabitur indignatio et furor meus super scelus eorum” (Is. x. 25). “Adhuc sexaginta et quinque anni et desinet Ephraim esse populus” (*Ibid.* vii. 8). “Adhuc duo anni dierum, et ego referri faciam ad locum istum omnia vasa domus Domini” (Jer. xxviii. 3). “Adhuc modicum et veniet tempus messionis ejus” (*Ibid.* li. 33). Cf. Osee. i. 4, and John xiv. 19, *ἔτι μικρόν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκέτι θεωρεῖ*. The Masoretic text of Jonas iii. 4. exhibits this favourite construction in the clearest form: *יֹם אַרְבָּעִים עוֹד*, or as the LXX. with a different numeral puts it, *ἔτι τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ Νενεὴ καταστροφῆσεται* (Cf. Agg. ii. 7). The translators of John iv. 35 evidently regard the construction as identical with the above. According to their rendering, our Lord must have said some such words as *עוֹד אַרְבָּעָה חֳדָשִׁים*. If so, they are naturally justified in inserting the *then*, and reading off “Yet four months and then, &c.”

Before leaving this point to examine the *τετράμηνος* of Greek authors, an argument that must be allowed to have some weight against the translators must be noticed. Granting for a moment that Christ made use of some such expression as the Hebrew above, it is not likely that St. John would turn the last two Hebrew words into the one very rare word, *τετράμηνος*. For consider the state of the case. The LXX. were in the same position as St. John. They, too, had to translate about a hundred and sixty collocations of “month” with a numeral, and they seem not to have had the least hesitation in setting down *τρεῖς* or *τέσσαρες* as the case might be with *μῆνες*.

In 1 Kings xxvii. 7 they had an opportunity of translating “four months.” They use the ordinary Greek—that is, the two words. Again, in Judges xix. 2, and xx. 47, they met the same expression and translated as before. As to these last two instances, there is some reason to doubt whether they did not write the neuter noun of time *τετράμηνον*. Even though they did, it will be shown later that the difference between this noun and

S. John's word is very wide. But the best recensions do not give *τετράμηνον* once throughout the whole of the Bible, but prefer the readings *μηνῶν τεσσάρων* and *τέσσαρας μῆνας*. True, that the cognate form *τρίμηνον* is used by the LXX. four times, Gen. xxxviii. 24, 4 Kings xv. 8, 2 Par. xxxvi. 2, 9 (compare Heb. xi. 23), but *τρίμηνον* is a word far better known than the other. As to *ἐξάμηνον*, our "half year," the LXX. employ it only twice—4 Kings xv. 8; 1 Par. iii. 4. To come to the New Testament. The Evangelists had occasion about fifteen times to use the word "month" or "months" with a numeral, yet they never made the smallest attempt to form any such extraordinary combination as *τετράμηνος*; "four months." St. John himself uses the small numerals as freely as the Synoptists, but never in composition, except in this one case of iv. 35.

The foregoing seems to establish at least a *prima facie* presumption against the likelihood of a Scriptural writer going out of his way to translate the commonest of expressions that in all the principal languages, ancient and modern, is divided into two words, as "four months," by a most uncommon and almost utterly unknown term like *τετράμηνος*. We think, then, that it is a question imperatively demanding an answer: Why did not St. John write here *τέσσαρες μῆνες*, in a way at once consonant with his usually simple Greek, and familiar to his readers? The attempt to solve this and the other yet unanswered questions will be made later on.

We now come to the examination of the word *τετράμηνος* as Greek, and out of all relation with the Scripture, and as we go on the suspicion ought to gather strength that the word, whatever it means, does not mean "four months." And here we may premise that if in the scarcity of the word itself we turn to others which must follow the same laws as it, our reasoning will not be thereby vitiated or weakened in the least. Rather if it be proved as to a certain class of words whose form and meaning is fixed by etymology and usage, cause must be shown why *τετράμηνος* should not conform to ordinary law, but be regarded as an errant word *sui juris* and *sui generis*.

Fortunately, there is no difficulty in classifying *τετράμηνος* as, originally at least, an adjective of two terminations. This is something gained. We are now free to compare with a vast host of precisely similar formation and combination.* Here are a few: *τετρακότυλος*, *τετράκωλος*, *τετράπτερος*, *τέτρωρος*, *τετράκυκλος*. Compounds of the numerals three and four can thus be formed *ad infinitum*. It is of course a flagrant truism to say that they all have the characteristics of adjectives. But when

* See Suidas, Stephanus, Liddell and Scott.

we say this, few of us advert to the fact that some of the very largest issues of the philosophy of grammar are here involved. The chaotic state into which our minds are thrown by grammarians, compilers of grammars, and practical teachers of grammar, makes it hard to see even superficially the distinction between an adjective and a noun; and as to a thorough understanding, the thing is not to be contemplated. The whole scholastic system of Substance and Accident is at the bottom of the distinction, and few are prepared to become philosophical, and not merely philological grammarians, at the cost of refurbishing the tools of the only philosophy that sounds the depths of the psychological mine, lightens the dark places where word-making is done,

Finds bottom in the uncomprehensive deeps,
Keeps place with thought, and almost like the gods,
Does thoughts unveil in their dumb cradles.*

It is only the shallowest of sciolists or sneerers that talk about the purely arbitrary character of language. The arbitrary sphere extends no farther than the answer to the one question, What name is to be given? Natural processes under the name of law precede the naming of the idea, or mental word, and follow it. The moment for free action is the moment of naming. Now there is no law of language but has a metaphysical basis, and the discredit into which metaphysics have fallen is the destruction of the science of grammar.

But to return to our list of Adjectives. We shall take *τετράκυκλος* as a fair sample of this family, and proceed to reason, but not in too *à priori* a fashion, about it. Some dictionaries are accustomed to define such words as "That which has, &c.," in our case, that which has four wheels. Nothing could be more incorrect. *τετράκυκλος* is "four-wheeled." Its objective counterpart *has* nothing itself; it *is* not anything subsistent by itself, as the chariot or "growler" is something subsistent, it is only a quality in virtue of which the substantial thing is properly called four-wheeled.* Old dictionaries would say, and correctly, "The quality of being four-wheeled," not meaning, of course, the abstract and subjective quality of "four-wheeledness," but the concrete objective characteristic of this or that vehicle. This being so it need hardly be said that it is an absolute impossibility, dependent on no arbitrary convention to translate *τετράκυκλος* by "four wheels." Four wheels are very substantial things indeed. They are more than *properties* in

* "Troilus and Cressida." Ulysses, *log.*

† "Accidentia et formæ non subsistentes dicuntur entia non quod ipsa habeant esse, sed quia eis aliquid est." St. Thomas, Summa: Prima Secundæ, 55. 4.

virtue of which things are this or that, round or square, white or black. They are things which *have* properties, and *are* in a much truer sense than properties *are*. Take again the English expression, three-year-old, as a Predicate. Looking at it simply as it stands, it cannot possibly mean a subsistent thing, capable of separate existence, not needing to *inhere* in something else, if it is to *be* at all. Give it something to be *in*, and it has all the reality it is capable of. Thus a "three-year-old horse" not only brings out the substance horse, but a certain time-relation which cannot be except in the horse or in something equally substantial. But to show that *τετράμηνος* is not wholly forgotten, it must be brought on the scene at once. It seems to us to make a great difference whether we translate it by "four months," or by "four months old," quite as much as between "four wheels" and "four-wheeled." In the former case we have a *substantive*, in the second an *adjective*. Just now we are not saying which it is, but only that the two are different. *By itself*, four-months-old has no real existence. To be anything, something must take it up and *be* four months old.

At this point we may ask: Can any one who translates *τετράκυκλος* and *scores* of similarly formed words without a moment's hesitation, doubt of the strength of the argument from analogy? As surely as *τετράκυκλος* is four-wheeled, and not four-wheels, nor four-wheeler, so is *τετράμηνος* four-monthed, that is four-months-old, and not four months.

Here an objection must be promptly met. Adjectives, it is said, and substantives are interchangeable. If there is any validity in the previous reasoning, this statement, as it stands, must be denied. Without some unmistakable mark to show that you are devoting a given adjective to other than adjectival functions, no mental effort can make a word which is an adjective, a substantive. *μεγαλόψυχος* is an adjective, and cannot be anything else; the French "*pauvre*" is the adjective *poor*, and nothing else. If I wish to speak of Aristotle's great personage, I am compelled to make some palpable change to indicate that I am speaking of a man now. This is most easily done by prefixing the article, *ὁ μεγαλόψυχος*.* The same way with *pauvre*. If "un" or "le" is added, the word remaining materially the same becomes capable of doing duty as the sign of the concept of a man, who is in the state, or has the form (*μορφήν*) denoted by the adjective.†

Similarly *ὁ τετράμηνος*, though there is no such expression in

* Aristotle's creation in *Ethics* 4. 7. is called by some the Great-souled Man, by others, not without some show of reason, the Utter Prig.

† When the functions of a substantive are not fixedly assumed, there is no harm in saying that such and such a substantive is understood with the adjective.

the Greek language, *would* be a substantive. Still keeping to the mere hypothesis of its existence, what would it mean? Some attention should be given to this question, which can be answered very briefly by an example. Supposing Euripides (Hippol. 1229) chose to drop the ὄχος, and to speak of ὁ τέτρωρος, he would mean by this expression "that which *has* four yoke-fellows," not four yoke-fellows. So, too, with the often-repeated τετράκυκλος. If made to do duty for a substantive by the prefixing of ὁ, it means, not "four wheels," but "that which *has* four wheels," With this compare the substantive formed out of the adjectival expression three years old. We say "*a* three-year-old," or, "*the* three-year-old," not meaning three years, but an animal that *has* that age, or is three years old. Thus ὁ τετράμηνος would signify not four months, but that which has, or is, that age, though it is far more usual to employ an adjective, as in Plautus, "*Filia trima*," a daughter three years old, or in Varro, "*trimestres hœdi*," goats three months old, or Horace's

Quæ velut latis equa trima campis
Ludit exultim metuitque tangi.—Od. iii. 11.

To sum up this part of the argument. An adjective, τετράμηνος exists. It denotes not months, but an *accidental* time-relation with months. No substantive has been formed thus—ὁ τετράμηνος. If it had been, it would most probably signify a thing, say a child of four months old.* Lastly, to put things at their worst for ourselves, even supposing the substantive did exist, and did mean four months, it is not found in John iv. 35. Hence objections on the point may be dismissed as irrelevant.

A little discussion must now be given to the question of the use of τετράμηνος, or similar compounds of μῆν and numerals, in profane authors. The adjectival meaning "*lasting four months*" comes out clearly in Thucydides, v. 63. The Lacedæmonians left Argos, τὰς τετραμήνους σπονδὰς ποιησόμενοι. In the lament of Dejanira at her husband's absence (Sophoc. Trach. 165) τριμήνος is an adjective, just as much as τεταρταῖος in John xi. 39, and Herod ii. 89.

τριμήνος ἦνικ, ἄν
χώρας ἀπείη κἀνιαύσιον βεβῶς.

Æschines in Ctesiph. speaks of the χρόνος τῆς τριμήνου. This is a feminine that gives editors some difficulty, which is solved by the *deus ex machina* of περίοδος understood.† This is a most

* Compare "*Uno porco tremessale*." This three-month-old pig flourished in the year 777, and fetched a third of an *as*.—Muratori's "*Antiquities*." A German mother may call her child, ein Dreitägiges, or say he is *viermonatig*, four months old, τετράμηνος.

† Herod. ii. 124. does not justify this assumption.

unusual word, and not to be brought in without grave reason. There seems to be no evidence that ἡ τρίμηνος can mean a space of three months. The orator has been speaking so much of the *συνμαχία* formed after the capture of Amphipolis by Philip, that there is reason to think this is the substantive understood. But it must be repeated again, even if ἡ τρίμηνος with or without *περίοδος* means three months, and ὁ ἐξάμηνος* with or without *χρόνος* means six months, our simple *τετράμηνος* has nothing of the substantive about it.

While on the question of the gender of the substantive understood after ὁ or ἡ τρίμηνος we may observe that to avoid confusion, we have hitherto refrained from determining the meaning of the neuter *τετράμηνον*. Undoubtedly, did such a word occur in John iv. 35, it would mean four months, just as the Latin neuter *triduum* means three days. There is no proof that such a word is Greek, but its occurrence in the *Textus Receptus*, and many *Cursives* excites some curiosity as to its origin.

Few classes of men fare so ill at the hands of their judges as the unfortunate Scribes, who are summoned by the Critics from the dust of hundreds of years, to answer for their "blunders." The only parallel to it is the case of ladies discussing the little failings of servants. Whoever wrote *τετράμηνον* first, no doubt blundered, but, perhaps, he blundered intelligently. At least let him have the benefit of the doubt. It is quite possible, that thinking it necessary to write a compound of *μήν* that would express "four months," he sat down quickly and wrote the *only* word that could really serve his purpose. This may have been unscrupulous, but it is a rather clever mistake.

So far the *τετράμηνος* of John iv. 35 has been regarded out of all relation to its immediate context, that is to say, no direct reference has been made to the word in what we may call the agricultural colour it derives from its surroundings.

A brief treatment of this part of our subject will best begin with Liddell and Scott's account of *πυρὸς τρίμηνος*. They say it is a wheat sown in spring "so as to ripen in three months." In support of this they refer to a comic poet named Philyllius, who wrote about the year 398 B.C. The fragments of his plays are very few and uninteresting. They are said to show traces rather of the Middle than the Old Comedy. Athenæus, the grammarian who, by his own account, accomplished the dismal task of reading through eight hundred comedies, has preserved a passage from the *Αὔρη* of Philyllius. It is that referred to by Liddell and Scott, and is given in full in "*Meineke, Fragmenta*," vol. ii.

* ὁ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη. Xen. Hell. ii. 3. Cf. *Ibid.*, iii. 4.

pt. 2. p. 857. It seems to show that the *τρίμηνος* wheat did not ripen in three months.

αὐτὸς φέρων πάρειμι πυρῶν ἐκγόνους τριμήνων
γαλακτοχρῶτος κολλάβους θερμούς.

On which Athenæus remarks, *γίνονται δ' οἱ ἄρτοι οὔτοι* (the *κόλλαβοι*) *ἐκ νέου πυροῦ*. The epithet *γαλακτοχρῶτος* has its difficulties, but it is certain that there is milk in it, and that unripe grain is milky, and ripe grain not milky but horny. Children admitted to cornfields know the distinction well. The luscious cakes here spoken of were, it would seem, made of three month-old wheat, precisely because it was not ripe, but was still full of the sweet milk that the epicure required. Besides, it may be asked, how could wheat in those days ripen in three months? The mean annual temperature of Attica is about 63° F. For such a climate as Greece, the ripening of wheat in three months is incredible.

Much light is thrown on this question by Littré. It seems that the French have a word which is an exact equivalent to the *τρίμηνος* wheat. It is the "*trémois*," thus described in the great dictionary. "*Blé de mars, blé de trois mois . . . qui se sème pour être coupé en vert, au printemps et donné aux bestiaux.*" Every word here will help us to a clearer understanding, both of the *τρίμηνος* and *τετράμηνος πυρός*. Du Cange has much important evidence to give in the same direction as Littré and the Greek poet. The abundance of the words he gives bearing on three-month wheat shows how well the term was known in the Middle Ages. In those days men grew wheat and cut it before it was ripe, presumably not as a delicacy for themselves, but for their cattle. *Trimenstruum* in Du Cange is "*trimense triticum*"—"our *trémois*," he adds. Again, "*trimense dicitur quoddam genus ordeï quia satum post tres menses, colligitur.*" This is taken from the old Glossarium of J. de Janua. "*Trimesium*" occurs in an old charter of 1171. There was even a word for the time of the "*trimense triticum*;" it was *tremisium*. Lastly, we find in the same authority, "*Tetransiton.*" Analogy points unmistakably to its meaning. It must be four-month old corn, but as we have not had access to this author's very rare Glossary of "*Low*" Greek, we cannot pursue the subject further.

We hope to be acquitted of the charge of hastiness in our conclusions if we say that this evidence points to the meaning of the *τετράμηνος* in John iv. 35 as four-month old applied to corn.

"Say ye not the crop is already four months old and the harvest is coming?"

Their reckoning was too mathematical. Four months and

more the Samaritan wheat *ought* to have taken to grow, but the lovely summer, the first that saw the Son of God going his rounds of mercy, God gave the increase, and in a short four months the harvest was ready for the sickle.

It will be noticed that the *ἔτι* of John iv. 35 must now be rendered, not by the future "yet" but the past "already." This translation hardly needs justification. Like the Latin *adhuc*, "up to this point," and therefore "before, in the past," *ἔτι* primarily connotes past and not future time. In the best lexicons its future sense appears long after the treatment of its primary meaning.

"*Ἐτι κόρος* is "while yet a boy:" *ἤδη* seems to have more of a future connotation than *ἔτι*. Thus *οὔτε νεανίσκος ἤδη, οὔτε παῖς ἔτι*; nec adhuc juvenis, nec jam puer. Stephanus gives the same two words remarkably contrasted in a passage from Philostrates: "You will wonder at certain figs"—*ἢ τὸ ἤδη ἢ τὸ ἔτι*, that is, either at their coming already, or at their keeping so long.* Also the scriptural use of *ἔτι* gives full warrant for the proposed change. See Luke xxiv. 6, xxiv. 41, xxiv. 44. John xx. 1, *σκορτάς ἔτι οὔσης*. 1 Cor. iii. 3, *Ibid.* xv. 17. 2 Thess. ii. 5.

One word as to St. John's knowledge of the strange word. At Ephesus he was sure to meet with an agricultural population. On the hills that enclose the Cayster, corn is grown in abundance, and terms to describe the various stages of its growth would probably have been in circulation. If he wanted to say of a crop that it was four months old, he would have had a technical word to hand.

This is conjecture, but we have nothing better to offer.

Little remains to be done. The arguments advanced, if they prove anything, prove the need of the revision of a translation, while they leave every syllable of the original untouched. We give them for what they are worth. If of any weight, they will be justly appraised; if worthless, they will be justly, and we are sure not harshly condemned.

But turn we now to the Scripture scene; to the peaceful but tired figure sitting by Jacob's well; and, leaving behind us the din of argument, we may be allowed to take a brief survey of the place and the journey thither.

Our Lord of course knew it. So did the Apostles. Unless when the Samaritans were particularly hostile, and threatened to molest travellers to or from Jerusalem, everyone would prefer this route past the east entrance of the matchless Valley of Shechem, to the circuitous route on the east of Jordan.

* Stephanus seems to misunderstand the passage.

The good Galilean fishermen, like Peter and Andrew, whose work was suspended by the cold of the northern winter, would have come down this way and joined the throngs who were flocking to John, the new preacher in the desert (Matt. iii. 5). They would have been enrolled amongst John's more special disciples, before Christ Himself started as a penitent in their track, and wended His way to do penance in the desert, and to beg the baptism of sinners. For reasons into which we cannot enter now, John's preaching probably began in January. Peter was likely at the first echoes of that voice to hurry with his usual impetuosity to the scene. At this time the Galileans would have noticed the Samaritans sowing their seed.

Near the favourite disciples of John, our Lord must have been hiding in the desert, but quite unknown to them. Even John did not know where He was, for He wandered out one day into the desert with two disciples (John i. 35), and scanned the horizon, but could not see Him whom He longed to behold once again. When at last he caught sight of Jesus walking, he uttered the cry of joy, whereat his disciples ran to overtake the Lord. The overpowering impulse of curiosity was too great for them, and their first question was, *Where hast Thou been staying?* (John i. 39). Now that they had found Him they would never leave Him, and they went up together to Cana to the wedding. Then down again—it was only three or four days' journey—to the Pasch; then, shortly afterwards, up again to begin the Galilean mission.

It was now the end of April, and the conversation turned on the crops that the Apostles had seen sown four months before. They knew roughly, and in the half-experienced way of men whose life is widely severed from that of toilers in the fields, that the harvest was approaching. It was not quite ripe as they neared Gerizim, and the mountain-spur that faced them is untilled and rocky. They were now only half way to the north, and our Lord had to rest at Jacob's well on Gerizim. The disciples went on to buy some food, probably at Sychar, on the south-east foot of Mount Ebal, and north-east of the well where they had left their master. Thus they did not pass into the valley between the two mountains, and, like many men who are indifferent to nature, or are too used to her charms, they did not care to stop and look up the valley.

Travellers in Palestine speak in a uniform strain of rapture of this view. They still see what Joatham saw (Judges ix.) when he addressed his parable of the trees to the men of Shechem, and pointed to the olives that overhung him on the side of Gerizim. The Apostles saw no difference between the unequalled luxuriance and verdure of this paradise and the less favoured field they had

just passed through. They had to be told to lift their eyes and look along the golden carpet of the teeming plain. The calculations made on their journey were outstripped by the bounty of Nature. In a spot like this they should not speak so much of the harvest coming as of the harvest come. Outside the vale, they might argue that four months were gone, and a fortnight or so would bring the harvest. But all was changed here, and yet they did not notice the burst of the glory which His eyes drank in. Well might He have said : Look ! Ecce !

M. A. POWER, S.J.

ART. VIII.—IRISHMEN IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1. *Englishmen in the French Revolution.* By JOHN G. ALGER. London : Sampson Low & Co. 1889.
2. *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France.* By JOHN CORNELIUS O'CALLAGHAN. Glasgow : Cameron & Ferguson.

THE Irish Brigade in the service of France grew out of one revolution and received its deathblow from another. During the hundred years that passed between the English Revolution and the French, 480,000 Irishmen, it has been calculated, died in arms for his most Christian Majesty. Recruiting for the ranks thinned by death was carried on actively in Ireland until 1748, but in that year, stringent measures were taken by the Government, warned by Fontenoy, to prevent the enlistment of Irishmen into foreign services; these precautions, coupled with the decline in the hopes of seeing king Louis's troops come across the sea to raise up "dark Roisin," gave a serious check to this foreign enlistment, and soon a "flight of wild geese," as the emigration of such recruits was fancifully called, became a rare event even on the wild coast of Kerry. Changes had meanwhile been gradually taking place in the Irish regiments in France, one corps diminished in numbers or left without a colonel-proprietor being amalgamated with another, with the result that, at the time of the Revolution, we find the fifteen Irish regiments of 1691 reduced to three—those of Dillon, Berwick, and Walsh—and they were Irish but in their names and in their officers. The language of the Gael, which had been heard in many a French garrison town and on many a battlefield, was no longer spoken in their ranks, the soldiers marched no more to the airs of the "White Cockade" or "St. Patrick's Day": the rank and file were French, with a sprinkling, it is true, of Irishmen, composed partly of rare recruits from head-quarters and partly of deserters from the English army.* The officers, as said, were Irish or of Irish race: indeed there were more Irish officers than places could

* "When the Irish regiments are opposed to English troops in war, a great many of the Irish desert and join their countrymen in the service of France. This was seen recently during the American war, in which, on one single occasion, more than 350 Irish Catholics taken prisoners at Saint Eustache, enlisted in the Dillon and Walsh regiments, in which the greater number still remain." "Historical Notes on the Services of the Irish Officers in the French Army." By General Arthur Dillon, 1792. Translated by J. P. Leonard.

be found for. Here then we have one of the main elements of the Irish population of France, at the time of the Revolution: but there were many Irish residents besides. There were Irish colleges at Paris, Bordeaux, Lille, Toulouse, Nantes and elsewhere, containing, between masters and students, some 450 inmates; there were Irish priests holding parishes, or in French religious houses, or acting as chaplains; there were no purely Irish convents, as far as I am aware, but there were many Irish nuns in French or English communities. There were, too, numbers of Irish Catholics, men and women of position, merchants, students, driven abroad by the storms at home, quietly breathing the air of freedom denied them in their own land, and soon to be denied them in the country of their adoption. To almost all of these the Revolution brought trouble in one form or another; it was hurried flight, loss of property or position to some; to others, it was imprisonment of short or long duration; to an unhappy few it was death itself.

Mr. Alger has told the story of the troubles, hopes and sympathies of the British in France during these stormy days in his interesting and carefully-compiled book, "*Englishmen in the French Revolution*." I shall only refer to such portions as relate to the Irish, and shall make some additions.

"The Revolution," says Mr. Alger, "which ended by imprisoning several hundred Englishmen in Paris alone, began by liberating two, if not three, who had grown grey in captivity." The three were Irishmen. For nineteen years the Earl of Massareene had been in prison as a debtor, first in Fort L'Evêque, and afterwards in La Force, the victim, according to one story, of swindlers, according to another, of his own follies and extravagance. His prison life, however, does not appear to have been a very hard one, for the rents of his Irish tenants, pretty punctually paid apparently, enabled him to keep open table, and lead, within his stone walls on a small scale, the same luxurious life he had led outside. He had on one occasion made an attempt at escape, and with the outbreak of the Revolution these thoughts of liberty were renewed. He proposed to his fellow-prisoners, among whom was François Richard-Lenoir, afterwards the reviver of the French cotton industry, that they should burst their bonds. This they did without very much difficulty, frightening their gaolers by stoically exclaiming, "Kill us, and then you will have to pay our creditors." After a visit to the English embassy, his lordship, true to himself, gave his companions a "capital dinner," during the preparation of which Lenoir, "always thoughtful and saving," as he himself boasts, hastened back to the prison to fetch his few things. Lord Massareene finally escaped to England; on landing at Dover he is said to have fallen on his knees and kissed

the ground, exclaiming, "God bless this land of liberty," to the astonishment of the spectators.

The storming of the Bastille, in which an Irish medical student, named Blackwell, subsequently a companion of Napper Tandy, and an officer of the Irish Legion, took some part, released seven captives, among whom was a strange creature with a beard "at least a yard long," and scarcely knowing how to express himself. He is reported to have said on his liberation, that he was "majeur de l'immensité," and to have made inquiries for Louis Quinze. He was a M. Whyte de Malleville, born at Dublin, and an ex-officer of the Irish Brigade. Becoming deranged in mind, he was confined at Vincennes, and afterwards transferred thence to the Bastille. The Dawn of Liberty did not mean much for him, poor man, and an asylum was soon again his home.

The third captive released at freedom's call was Andrew Macdonagh, who for twelve years and a half had occupied the cell of the Man with the Iron Mask, in the Ile Ste. Marguérite. He was a native of Sligo, and, like Whyte, an officer of the Irish Brigade. While his regiment, which was Dillon's, was stationed at Lille, he became acquainted with, and eventually got secretly married to, Rose Plunkett, daughter of Lord Dunsany. Her brother, on learning the secret alliance, had Rose confined in Port-Royal Convent, from which she appealed to the English embassy, and there followed diplomatic correspondence about the "demoiselle Plunkett." Rose did not presumably, like her namesake in the old chronicle, "represent in sinceritie of life the sweetness of that hearbe whose name she bare," for we are told that she "proved faithless, and to prevent Macdonagh's opposition to a second and more brilliant marriage, she got him arrested in 1777 under a *lettre de cachet*." She, meanwhile, married a M. Carondelet, a Belgian officer. On his release, Macdonagh gave a history of his love affair to the extraordinary Chevalier Rutledge, who published an account of it in Camille Desmoulins' newspaper, and drew from M. Carondelet a reply to the effect that Rose had spoken to Macdonagh but once, and then through the grating of a convent, and that that was the sum total of her acquaintance with him. In the *Moniteur* for May 7, 1792, there is a letter from Macdonagh, in which he complains of his wife's infidelity, and threatens to go to Hainault to punish Carondelet. It is accompanied by a copy of a letter from Rose, addressed most affectionately to Macdonagh, as "mon cœur et mon ami," acknowledging her marriage, and likewise the receipt of some money and oranges, "qui sont très bonnes comme vous-même." Rutledge's newspaper contribution was published as a pamphlet—"Amusements du Despotisme"—in 1791, and it is from it that Mr. Alger quotes. Mr. O'Callaghan in his "History of the Irish

Brigades," gives a somewhat different version of this story, taken from a "Memoir of M. Macdonagh," printed at Lyons in 1792. Here the hero is heir-presumptive to the wealthy old Count Charles O'Gara, Councillor of State at the Imperial Court, and a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and was intrigued out of his inheritance by Lord Dunsany, General Plunkett, Governor of Antwerp, and his own wife, Rose Plunkett. Particular abuse—it is on account of it that Mr. O'Callaghan refers to the Memoir—is showered on Count Walsh de Serrant, who procured the *lettre de cachet* from the Minister of War, and who is made out to be the descendant of a "Sieur Wash, a Jew of Strasbourg." Whatever way the story runs, Macdonagh was for twelve years and seven months in Ste. Marguérite, and was liberated by the Revolution. Thus gaily for these three Irishmen was ushered in the Revolution, which was destined before its close to bring woe to many of their countrymen.

The tempest was not yet come, but the sky was overcast; most foreigners took heed of the threatening aspect and fled in time. In 1790 the English *chargé d'affaires*, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, a brother of Lord Edward's, cautioned British subjects against visiting France. Two years later, Lord Kerry found it hard to procure a passport, and was obliged to leave behind him his French servants, unfortunately for two of them, for during the Terror, P. F. Nicolas, "domestique de Kéry, se disant lord d'Irlande," and Brunel, his lordship's valet, were guillotined. Kerry was possessed of considerable property in France, for which his heirs were indemnified thirty years afterwards. To his quiet home at Toulouse and his studies, the increasing Revolution in Paris drove Nicholas MacCarthy, born in Dublin, subsequently the great Jesuit preacher; back to their native land it sent nuns, such as those who joined the newly-established Ursuline convent in Cork, or officers of the Brigade, like those whom Lady Morgan met in Kilkenny, and who furnished her with material for the plot and characters of "O'Donnell," and others of her novels; or young collegians, like Daniel O'Connell, from Douai; across the border or to England fled many bearers of Irish names, such as Count O'Connell, the Walshs de Serrant, Count O'Mahony, Mgr. Dillon, the princely Archbishop of Narbonne, and patron of Irish *littérati*. To those of the Brigade who were with him at Coblenz, the Comte de Provence presented a *drapeau d'adieu* bearing the motto, "Semper et ubique fideles."

The Irish protomartyr was General Theobald Dillon, who fell in 1792. He was born in Dublin, entered Dillon's regiment and fought with distinction in America, where he won the Cross of St. Louis, and was made a member of the American Order of Cincinnati. During the Revolutionary War while serving under

Dumouriez at Lille, he received orders to make a feigned assault on Tournay, but was, at the same time, instructed to carefully avoid any encounter with the enemy. Being attacked by the Austrians, he ordered a retreat, which only resulted in the complete disarray of his ranks. It became suspected that Dillon, being an aristocrat, was in league with the enemy: "Sauve qui peut! nous sommes trahis! Aristocrates à la lanterne," was shouted on all sides; a pistol shot was fired at the General, and he was obliged to dismount and enter a cabriolet. The wounded soldier was driven into Lille, but no sooner had his carriage entered the city gates than an attack was made on him, and he was stabbed to death; his body was thrown out, and drawn through the streets. According to Lord Cloncurry,* Patrick Lattin, Dillon's aide-de-camp, was in the cabriolet with the General at the time of his death. If so, his escape must have been miraculous. Lattin belonged to a family long-established in Kildare, and was looked upon as a splendid specimen of the Franco-Irish officer. He was educated at the Collège Henri IV., and at Turin, and then joined the Irish Brigade. He kept a house in the Chaussée d'Antin, much frequented by the *Paris beau monde*, and at his Kildare residence, Morristown-Lattin, some of the most distinguished Irishmen of the day used often meet. Lady Morgan was an occasional visitor at the latter place, and said of her host that beside him "Sheil was silent, and Curran dumb."† "When his purse was full," says Lord Cloncurry, "he drew upon it without scruple, to gratify his taste for pleasure or to help a friend; when it was empty, I have known him to sit down and, in three months' work, to complete a translation of the '*Henriade*,' in order that he might relieve the necessities of an *émigré* friend with the proceeds of its publication. In the one case and in the other, he was equally blithe, and victorious over care." He made some other translations too and was a vigorous advocate of Catholic claims entering the lists with the Protestant champion, Dr. Patrick Duigenan, who, Protestant champion though he was, was married to a Catholic lady, and allowed her and her sister, a refugee from the French Revolution and resident in the Doctor's house, the most complete religious liberty.

Two Irish priests, Fathers Flood and Corby, narrowly escaped the September massacres, according to Mr. Alger, but under what circumstances he does not tell us. Many "narrow escapes"

* "Personal Recollections of the Life and Times of Valentine, Lord Cloncurry." Dublin, 1849.

† Note on the Lattin Family, by John M. Thunder, in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Society of Ireland*.

are recounted of these times, there being a great tendency to magnify, if the bull be excused, any escape into a narrow one. Here will be the best place to mention one or two such, though they occurred at a later stage of the Revolution. The place of honour certainly belongs to one related by John Francis Maguire, in his "*Life of Father Mathew*," as falling to the lot of Father Donovan, a Capuchin, who was the Temperance Apostle's superior in Cork. Father Donovan was acting as chaplain in a French noble family when the Revolution broke out and forced the nobleman and his family to emigrate. Father Donovan who had remained in Paris, in charge of his patron's hotel, was arrested and condemned to death. The tumbril conveying him reached the hideous guillotine that appeared never to be sated with blood, and inevitable death stared the poor Irish friar in the face: he bade his companions, whom overnight he had done his best to console, think of the Saviour they were about to meet and in silent prayer resigned himself to his fate. But this time the guillotine was to be cheated: an Irish officer mindful of the land that had given him birth, rode up and cried out in Irish: "Are there any Irish among you?" "There are seven of us," answered Father Donovan. "Then have no fear": saying this, the officer made his way to the officials in charge, and on some pretext had his seven countrymen released. Father Donovan's special vocation in after life was to minister to the condemned: he was chaplain to Cork County gaol for very many years.

Dr. MacMahon, nephew of Dr. O'Reilly, who was one of Louis XVI.'s physicians, had, too, a narrow escape. After the king's execution, both uncle and nephew were suspected. Dr. MacMahon's hatter was luckily a captain in his district, and he informed the doctor that orders had been issued for his arrest. The captain was to march a battalion of volunteers out of Paris on their way to the German frontier, and he advised his old customer to enlist in his corps, which was to be reviewed next day in the courtyard of the Collège Louis le Grand; the doctor had some friends at the college, and managed to conceal himself there for the night. Next morning he appeared, musket on shoulder, thanks to his captain's attention passed unnoticed at the parade, and marched out to join the army of the Rhine. His medical skill becoming known, he was attached to the military hospital, and after some campaigns under Moreau, he returned to Paris, finished his studies, and in after years was appointed doctor to the Irish College and head librarian of the Ecole de Médecine. The author of the "*Reminiscences of an Emigrant Milesian*," tells the story about MacMahon with many dramatic details. MacMahon was in the ranks to be first inspected; his captain,

noticing this, had him removed beneath an archway, where he was more or less concealed : the Mayor's clerk called out a list of the suspects, who, it was thought, might escape with the volunteers. "Is MacMahon here? Does any citizen recognise MacMahon?" was cried out, and so forth. The simple narrative is borrowed from the "Memoirs" of Miles Byrne, a Wexford man, who, having taken part in the Rebellion of '98, was obliged to escape to France, and became one of the most prominent officers of the Irish Legion, an Imperial counterpart of the Bourbon Irish Brigade.

In October 1793, the arrest of British subjects was decreed by the Convention, and between the 10th and 14th of that month some 250 persons were imprisoned. Of the Irish prisoners we shall refer to one only at any length, with all the more reason as Mr. Alger has taken no notice of him. This was James Roche, who came of a good Irish family, was educated at the College of Saintes, and apparently spent a great deal of his life in France. He finally settled down in Cork, and devoted much of the spare time left him by his business as a banker to the books in his well-stocked library. He became, as he himself says, a "literary volunteer," contributing pretty often to the magazines, more especially to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the DUBLIN REVIEW, and meriting thereby at the hands of his fellow-townsmen the flattering *sobriquet* of "the Roscoe of Cork." Towards the close of his life, in his eighty-first year, he collected many of his papers, and had them privately reprinted, under the title "Essays, Critical and Miscellaneous, by an Octogenarian," telling us in his preface that "they mainly originated in what appeared to him the necessary correction of numerous errors that struck him in his current reading." Through these essays occur bits of information about the French Revolution which I shall put together, with much regret that the author has not left us a connected account of his experiences. Most of Mr. Roche's early French life was spent in the South, in Bordeaux especially—a city that seems to have been a very favourite resort of his compatriots. It contained a church belonging to the Irish (St. Eutrope), an Irish college, of which a few words later on, and a monastery for Irish monks of St. Bernard. A citizen of the United States, who visited France in 1805-6, speaks of the vast number of Irish in that city.* Many of these, however, were fugitives from Ireland after the Rebellion, and they were not looked upon with much favour by the older and wealthier Irish inhabitants. One of the latter class, an opulent merchant, lost £50,000 sterling by

* "Sketches of Society in France and Ireland in the years 1805-6-7." By a Citizen of the United States. Dublin: 1811.

the *assignats*. The American visitor met two Irish nuns whom the Revolution had thrown on the world. One was a Carmelite abbess, a native of Dublin, who is described as being possessed of very refined manners; she, and some of her sisters, deprived of their convent, conducted a boarding-school in the city. But we must return to Mr. Roche. At Saintes he had known the family of Guillotin, who as a young man was occupied about heads in a different way from that which afterwards claimed his attention, for he was a teacher at the Irish College, Bordeaux. Here we correct Mr. Roche the corrector, who places Guillotin at the Irish College, Paris. At the Rue St. Cathérine, in Bordeaux, Roche used often visit Vergniaud, then a barrister, always kind and obliging to the young Irishman, subsequently the deputy that pronounced sentence of death on the king. Others, too, of his Girondist colleagues he knew—Gensonné and Ducos, the latter of whom, he recollects, “wore false calves, to make his legs correspond with the comparatively greater fulness of his body.” Roche was able to speak of de Tocqueville as a man “whose society I have enjoyed.” He casually met Samson, *fils*, the hangman, knew Madame Dubarry’s nominal husband, was well acquainted with several distinguished officers of the Irish Brigade, such as O’Moran, O’Meara, Count Walsh, and General Conway, the last named a firm opponent of the Revolution, and an ex-aide-de-camp of Washington. On the 28th May 1793, Roche dined at the house of his banker, M. Vandenyver, in company with twelve Girondist deputies, and his host’s son. Of the fifteen then present only two, one of the Vandenyvers and Mr. Roche were alive at the end of the year. In October he was arrested, and remained in prison till Robespierre’s downfall, when he “passed the *scrutin épuratoire* (vulgarly called *le purgatoire*) in order to obtain his *carte* or *certificat de civisme*,” and was again a free man. He some time after saw prison scenes again, but this time on the stage, in the play “L’Intérieur du Comité Revolutionnaire,” and was much pleased with a certain actor’s impersonation of Robespierre. We find him touring in the year 1795 in the South, “*pedes et expeditus*, partly from choice, and partly to avoid the danger which at that period a more aristocratic mode of travelling would have exposed me to.” He was quite at home with the peoples of Gascony and Languedoc, as their *patois* was familiar to him. In the same year, too, he was in Paris, and saw Napoleon :

Of his (Napoleon’s) first public manifestation in that capital, in October 1795, when he overthrew the Sections, armed in opposition to the Convention, I was a witness, and well remember the prognostics raised on the fearful energy of his conduct on that occasion.

That same year, also, 1795, an event worth noting, he paid 15,000 livres for a hat not worth fifteen shillings. Mr. Roche lived to the age of eighty-three, and witnessed before he died another but minor French revolution—that of 1848.

Let us name some others of the Irish prisoners of this period—1793–4. There was Isidore Lynch, an Irish officer in the French service, born in London, who had fought in India and America, and at home under Dumouriez. On his release from confinement, he was re-instated in the army and eventually became a general but on being ordered to fight against the Vendéans,* he refused, and withdrew into private life. There were two fellow captives namesakes of the general's : one was a priest, Nicholas Lynch, the other was Jean Baptiste Lynch, a Bordeaux barrister, only Irish by race, who, in after years, was mayor of his native city at an important crisis. General Kilmaine, whose real name was Jennings, was a prisoner at this time. He was brought by his father at an early age from Dublin to France and enlisted in Biron's hussars. On the outbreak of the Revolution, he embraced the new doctrines, but was for some time debarred from promotion by his foreign birth, though his bravery and talents were recognised. "He is a foreigner," said the Convention Commissaries in 1793, "he is Irish ; Republicanism does not easily penetrate such skulls." He was arrested for retreating before the enemy and was imprisoned with his wife until July 1795. He was afterwards replaced in the army, served in Italy, and was commander designate of the intended expedition to Ireland in the time of the Directory. General O'Meara was arrested at Dunkirk as an Irishman and an aristocrat, but was soon released ; he defended Dunkirk against the Duke of York.

The Abbé Edgeworth's mother and sister, whom Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, had requested the abbé, his old fellow student at Toulouse, to bring with him to Ireland, were prisoners too. The wife of the Marquis de Châtellux, who had made the acquaintance of Dr. Moylan's brother, General Moylan, aide-de-camp to Washington, during his travels in North America, was arrested and confined for a year in the well known English Austin Convent. She was Mary Plunkett, daughter of the General Plunkett, Governor of Antwerp, already alluded to.

Of the Abbé Edgeworth nothing need be said. The friend of the poor and of the Irish exile, the faithful adviser and servant of the royal family, in the end the martyr to his zeal for the sick, his holy career in this life is well known to all. He was not the only Irish priest present at Louis XVI.'s execution, for the

* Among the reputed chiefs of the Vendéans was a M. MacCurtin, and an officer named O'Daly fought for them.

Abbé Kearney, from the Irish College, had come to bestow his blessing on the martyr king. Father Kearney was afterwards arrested and spent three years in the Temple. He was a learned and most charitable priest, who would undergo any inconvenience when a friend or countryman was concerned. Here we find him helping his noble connections, the de Castelbajac ladies, when a call was made on all classes, men and women, to assist in the erection of an esplanade on the Champ-de-Mars. There he is met in the Rue de l'Estrapade carrying some clothes to a poor Irishman looking for a situation. He was devoted to the king, and he was likewise devoted to his college.

There were two Irish institutions in Paris—the Collège des Lombards, a foundation of the year 1677, and the Collège des Irlandais, established a hundred years afterwards. The Abbé Kearney was superior of the latter, and the Abbé Walsh had been transferred from Nantes shortly before the Revolution to take charge of the former, but into the Abbé Walsh's hands fell to a great extent, the care of the Irish College, and to his watchful stewardship during these terrible years, the college mainly owes its existence to-day.* In the year 1790 a law was passed, in virtue of which all ecclesiastical property was to be confiscated, the British establishments, however, being exempted. On St. Nicholas' day in this year, the college students were playing football in the Champ-de-Mars, when one of their number happened to overturn the statue of Liberty on the Federation altar, that stood there. Needless to say, this was regarded as an insult to the nation: the sentry on duty before the altar forthwith proceeded to arrest the offender, whose companions ran to his defence. A mob gathered which would have had very little hesitation about sacrificing the delinquent and his companions as hostages to Liberty—many a man was hanged for much less—but luckily for them Lafayette arrived on the scene with some horsemen, and the students had the benefit of calmer judgment. Six of them were arrested, and were lucky in escaping with a fortnight's imprisonment.

As the Revolution increased the Irish College became naturally more and more exposed to danger. On September 25, 1791, Catholics who had come to hear the orthodox Mass were driven out and ordered to go to a Constitutional Church. One woman was torn from the confessional, and another flogged by ruffians who came from a grog-shop close by.† Some six months afterwards the Abbé Walsh was arrested, charged with having passed a forged note. The charge was false, and he was promptly

* "Irish Ecclesiastical Record," March 1866

† Taine, "The Revolution," vol. ii.

released with apologies for the mistake. During the Reign of Terror Dr. Walsh, at the request of the Vicars-general of Paris, assisted in the management of the diocese, and afforded a place of refuge to many a persecuted priest within the College walls; among others, the well-known Abbé Emery and his Sulpicians were much indebted to him. The College was attacked by a mob, but was saved by one of the students, MacCanna by name, who stood at the gate, pistol in hand, threatening to shoot the first assailant. He then made a speech pointing out that the Irish were exiles relying on French hospitality, and he mentioned that he himself was going to fight against their enemies, the English. The speech was a success, and the mob went away. MacCanna did take part in two French expeditions, intended to help his fellow-countrymen, and after some time spent on board a French privateer, he settled down as an *armateur* in Boulogne, in which city he had the pleasure of entertaining the officers of the Irish Legion. The Irish College of Paris, as well as those of Bordeaux and Nantes, managed to escape the law of 1793, ordering the sale of property belonging to subjects of nations at war with France. Nantes College was sold some thirty years ago, and the writer remembers hearing a few years since of the sale of the Bordeaux College, which, like the Collège des Lombards in Paris, had been let to tenants. The Irish College, Paris, was closed as an educational establishment in 1793, and was used as a prison, but not to the same extent as the Scotch College. It was not for some time after the establishment of the Empire that it was again in good working order. The Irish Recollect monastery at Boulay in Lorraine, was closed at this time; one of its inmates, Father Connelly, was arrested as a recusant priest, and died in hospital in Rochefort on the eve of his transportation. We can class, too, as victims of the Revolution the celebrated Irish Colleges of Louvain, which were confiscated when the French invaded Belgium.

The Irish—indeed we should say the British—religious foundations in France were doubly unfortunate; they were considered English establishments by the French, and so were freely pillaged during the Revolution; they were regarded as French by the English, and so denied any share in the indemnification funds placed at the disposal of the English Commission.

Through prisons and confiscations we have come to the guillotine. Its most remarkable Irish victim was General Count Arthur Dillon, of the Roscommon Dillons, and a kinsman of Theobald Dillon, whose unhappy fate has been mentioned. He was born in Berkshire; and becoming an officer in the Dillon regiment, saw active service in the West Indies, was appointed Governor of St. Kitts, and subsequently of Tobago. The Revo-

lution found in him a moderate partisan, and he was sent by Martinique as deputy to the National Assembly. He attended the banquet organised in 1792 by British sympathisers with the Revolution to celebrate the victories of the French over the invading Prussians and Austrians—victories in which he himself had no inconsiderable share. At this dinner, rendered remarkable by Lord Edward Fitzgerald's renunciation of his title thereat, Dillon proposed the toast—"The people of Ireland, and may government profit by the example of France, and Reform prevent Revolution." But Dillon's opinions, which were of the constitutional monarchical *nuance*, soon brought him into suspicion. Already, on hearing of the storming of the Tuileries, he had pledged himself and his troops as supporters of the monarchy; for this he had lost his command, and was obliged to serve under his former subordinate Dumouriez. Shortly after the British feast he was arrested, and imprisoned first at the Madelonnettes, and then at the Luxembourg, where he had, as fellow captives, Danton, Camille Desmoulins with his wife, and Tom Paine. It was given out that a plot was on foot among the prisoners to make their escape. What was called an inquiry was held, and as a result of it, Desmoulins and Danton were executed on the 5th April 1794, and were followed nine days afterwards to the guillotine by Dillon, Camille's wife, and nineteen others. Hangman Samson is said to have touched one of the female prisoners on the shoulders and pointed to the scaffold: "Pray, Mr. Dillon, do you go first," the lady said; and replying with the utmost politeness, "I can refuse nothing to a lady," the General bravely mounted the scaffold. His last words were, "Vive le Roi!" Dillon loved his countrymen well, and often professed his willingness to fight for Ireland as he had fought for France, should the opportunity occur. When, too, the National Assembly decreed the suppression of foreign troops in the service of France, General Dillon rose up in defence of the threatened Irish Brigade, and wrote his "Historical Notes on the Irish Officers in the French Army." He was not the first man connected with Roscommon who had been executed; four months previously, General James O'Moran, a native of Elphin, had fallen beneath the revolutionary axe. He, too, had welcomed the party of Reform. He signed the register as a witness on the occasion of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's marriage with Pamela, and perhaps we are to see his enthusiasm for one part of the new programme—the abolition of distinctive titles—in his method of writing his name, Omoran. As a foreigner, he became suspected, and was arrested during the Terror and imprisoned. From his gaol he sent to the Comité de Salut Public a memorial of his services, which had been brilliant at home and in

America; the members of the Comité, who examined the memorial, wrote their reply on it; it was: "Send him to the Abbaye and to the scaffold."

Brigadier General Ward, born at Dublin, and educated at the Irish College, Paris, was arrested as a foreigner and guillotined this same year, and with him, his servant, John Malone, from Limerick.

"Revolutions are not made with rose water," Danton said. Not even youth was spared by the Terrorists, as two Irish lads of seventeen learned to their cost. One Thomas Delany—"sometimes called Lainy or Laing, perhaps," suggests Mr. Alger, "because he had renounced the first syllable of his name, lest it should be mistaken for the aristocratic particle"—was charged with being a spy, and arrested. He protested his innocence, and declared himself eager to join the French army, but all to no avail. He was executed along with a fellow-countryman, Patrick Roden, a deserter from the English army. The other was François Ursule Burk, a sailor-boy from L'Orient, whose story is thus told:

On June 9, 1794, the charge against him was dismissed, and it was ordered that he should be detained till 21 years of age, but on July 23 he was again tried for prison plot at the Carmelites'. He was accused of saying that the English were brave; also that it was absurd to make citizens serve as soldiers when there were regular troops. He replied that he had said the Irish were brave; his father was one and served France well.

A martyr thus to a patriotic boast in favour of his father's countrymen, he was guillotined, and was, as the Marquise de Montagu tells in her "Memoirs," huddled into the tomb in the distinguished company of the Prince de Salm-Kyrburg and General Viscount de Beauharnais. We are not to look for choiceness of language or delicacy of sentiment in the Revolutionary despatches. The end of an officer in Walsh's regiment, William Bulkeley, is thus told by one of the brutal revolutionary agents in the Provinces: "Our holy mother Guillotine is busy. In the last three days she has shaved eleven priests, one *ci-devant* (noble), one *ci-devant* nun, one general, and a splendid Englishman of six feet, whose head was *de trop*; it is now in the sack." Another of these monsters sent along with four prisoners the following despatch: "I send you four—to be shortened," [then follow the names of three of the prisoners], the fourth is an Irishman, named Mandeville, whom I heard styled 'M. le Marquis,' this morning. As I don't like marquises, I send him to you."

We could increase our list of the guillotined by as many more names, but these we must omit, and with some allusion to the

Irish sympathisers with the Revolution, must finish this paper. From Ireland, particularly from the North, came some addresses of congratulation, to the new rulers of France. In Belfast, there was a grand procession in honour of the Revolution; Friends of Liberty at Newry presented 6,850 francs; a National Guard was formed at Dublin.

In France itself there were few Irish sympathisers; Irishmen in Paris brought 145 francs to the Bar of the Assembly, to equip a volunteer—a sum that does not give evidence of the presence of many such in Paris. Lord Edward Fitzgerald delighted with the new order, was present at the British banquet already spoken of; Archibald Hamilton Rowan escaped from prison in Dublin, got safe to France in 1794, and after detention in several places, arrived in Paris. He had known the city in the days of the *ancien regime*, had even been something of a prominent figure in it, owing to a foot-race which he ran and won, weighted with jack-boots, against an officer of the Body Guard, lightly equipped, in the presence of Marie Antoinette and the Court. He now came as a United Irishman, but found the French too busy among themselves to think of Ireland. He saw a good deal of blood shed and was disgusted:

In two days after the execution of Robespierre, the whole commune of Paris, consisting of about sixty persons were guillotined in less than an hour and a half in the Place de la Révolution; and though I was standing above a hundred paces from the place of execution, the blood of the victims streamed under my feet. What surprised me was, as each head fell into the basket, the cry of the people was no other than a repetition of *A bas le maximum*.

Procuring a passport through the assistance of an Irish ex-Abbé, Madget, who was in the Government employment, he started for Havre by boat, under the assumed name of Thomson. He was suspected of being a refugee, and was stopped at a couple of places; indeed his life was once in danger, as a mob that had collected near the river at Passy, wanted to have him hanged *à la lanterne*; he was brought before the Mayor, and permitted to resume his journey, which was broken at Argenteuil to pay a visit to his friend, the *curé*, an old Irish priest named McLaughlin. He finally reached Rouen safely, and there got a ship bound for the United States.

Henry and John Sheares, whose name Mr. Alger guillotines of its final letter, calling them Sheare,* disgusted O'Connell, a fugitive from Douai and their fellow-passenger in the Calais packet, with their exultations over the execution of the king.

* Mr. Alger also calls Alban Butler, Allan Butler, and places Kinsale in the County Kerry.

Yet gentler sentiments are accredited to John, who is reported to have said on visiting the Trianon, that he would plunge a dagger in the heart of every Frenchman, if a hair of the Queen's head were touched. To him, too, is attributed a passionate admiration for Théroigne de Mericourt, the wild Republican heroine, grown mild since the days she led the mob to Versailles, and took part in the attacks on the Bastille and Tuileries. He proposed the invasion of England to the Convention, and both he and his brother, the English Government was warned, were "men of desperate designs, capable of setting fire to the dockyards."

In the employment of the Revolutionary Government, there were some Irishmen. Clarke, afterwards Duke de Feltre, born of Irish parents at Landrécies, held an official position, and in the Foreign Department there were two; Nicholas Madgett, a native of Kerry, who had been a priest in France, but who, like another compatriot, Richard Ferris, that gave some trouble at the Irish College, did not remain faithful to his sacred calling; he was a friend of Wolfe Tone's, and was very active about the organisation of the French expedition to Ireland; he had a brother official in Sullivan, who had been a teacher at La Flèche, and who was probably the inspector of prisoners of war of that name, that befriended Hamilton Rowan. Rowan had written a petition for his release, which his gaoler brought to Sullivan with the request: "Sacré Dieu ! débarrassez moi de cet homme-là, qu'on le renvoie ou qu'on le guillotine, car il m'ennuie." Sullivan remembered Rowan's name, and fortunately chose the first of the gaoler's alternatives; he afterwards took part in Hoche's expedition. A man who was almost a namesake of his, made himself unenviably conspicuous in the brutalities in La Vendée. There were two brothers, natives of this province, Charles and Jean Baptiste O'Sullivan, the former a collector of stamp-duties, the latter a fencing-master. In the troubles of the times, the two brothers took different sides; Charles was a Royalist, and took part in the Vendean rising and, it is said, during the insurrection saved the life of John, who was fighting for the Republicans. An opportunity occurred for a return of this brotherly charity, for, when there was no hope for the Vendéans, Charles came, and threw himself into his brother's arms; but he received no welcome, "he was my country's enemy," said John, "I performed a Republican's duty and denounced him, and justice pronounced his fate"—the guillotine at Angers on the last day of 1793. John went from crime to crime, and became an accomplice of the infamous Carrier.

"Summoned to Paris as a witness against Carrier, he was himself placed in the dock. It was alleged that, dining with a party of men in a garden he had boasted that when superinten-

ding the 'noyades,' he would distract a prisoner's attention by bidding him look at something on the shore, and when the man turned his head stuck a knife into his throat. . . . In a conversation on muscular strength, he was alleged to have said that his brother was stronger than himself, so that the guillotine had to strike twice before his head fell. It was also said that he had boasted of having slaughtered men like sheep with his pocket-knife."

O'Sullivan was acquitted, and in after life became a school-master; he died in 1841. He, or perhaps rather, his wife, who is described as a handsome and virtuous woman, was partly instrumental in saving the life of Madame de la Rochejaquelein's waiting-maid. Of course, O'Sullivan was of Irish origin only.

Mr. Alger says that he may have been the grandson of a Daniel O'Sullivan, who was a fencing-master in France, in the middle of last century, and who himself may have been the Young Pretender's Quartermaster. Prince Charles' Adjutant-General and Quartermaster was John—afterwards Sir John, by Prince James's creation—O'Sullivan and far different was the fate of his descendants.* He had apparently but one son, Thomas Herbert O'Sullivan, who was successively in the Irish Brigade, in the British Army in America, and in the Dutch service. He, too, left one son, who was American Consul at the Canary Islands and at Mogador in Morocco, and lost his life in a shipwreck in 1825. This family became extinct in the person of John Louis O'Sullivan, United States Minister to Portugal from 1854 to 1858.

Another man of Irish extraction, Joseph Kavanagh, a shoemaker of Lille, was a violent but cowardly *sans-culotte*, and a butcher of defenceless prisoners in the terrible September massacre. Were we to try, we could hardly enlarge our list of the Irish that took any part in the Revolution: that of the Irish prisoners we could readily have increased fourfold, even that of the guillotined we could have doubled.

It was almost entirely then as sufferers that the Irish figured in the Revolution, for they were really all ardently devoted to the monarchy and to religion; to the Franco-Irish of this school and to King Louis, Ireland had looked for assistance during the first half of the eighteenth century; towards its close, she turned for deliverance to the Republic; but were we to pursue this subject, we should have to couple with our heading "Irishmen in the French Revolution," that of "Frenchmen in the Irish Rebellion."

PIERCE L. NOLAN.

* O'Callaghan's "History of the Irish Brigades."

ART. IX.—CREMATION AND CHRISTIANITY.

1. *Se sia lecito abbruciare i Morti.* Di GIACOMO SCURATI. Milano. 1885.
2. *Modern Cremation.* By Sir H. THOMPSON, F.R.C.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

PHILOSOPHY argues in vain against the intuitive reverence of man for the relics of his dead. The complex and beautiful structure of the human form, the shrine of the immortal soul, moulded by the inner workings of the mind, bearing in legible characters the record of a life, and stamped with the seal of individual consciousness, can never be an object of indifference to the living, even when bereaved of the informing spirit. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the different forms in which this universal feeling manifests itself; suffice it to say, that among all the nations of the earth funeral rites and ceremonies form a large, and in many cases, the largest portion of the instinctive religion of humanity. Among a not inconsiderable portion, indeed, of mankind this natural piety is exaggerated into actual worship, and the spirits of the departed, regarded as still bound by some mysterious tie of affinity to their earthly remains, become the tutelary deities of the living. Thus the modern materialistic conception of the body as for ever dissociated by death from its indwelling consciousness, has against it all the weight of tradition, and of the unanimous consensus of the human race. For we find, in all times and places, a general prevalence of the opinion, sometimes definitely held, sometimes existing as a shadowy sentiment, rather than belief, that the divorce of body and spirit is only temporary or partial, and that a link more or less renewable, subsists between them. If it were not so, it would indeed be difficult to see on what grounds the human remains could be considered as entitled to more consideration than those of any other animal, nor would there be any reason why cannibalism itself should revolt our feelings. It is the indefinable idea of a haunting spirit, the survival, in a more or less degenerate form, of the primitive revelation to man, that invests these poor relics with their sacred character, and renders any act of wilful disrespect, even to their perishable dust, an outrage on our common nature. Violation of the sepulchre for purposes of robbery is thus regarded in all civilised countries as a crime, in which the guilt of sacrilege is added to that of theft, and body-snatching is, in popular estimation, held in little less reprobation than murder. Mutilation of the slain in battle ranks in the same manner with the

worst excesses of savage warfare, and stamps the peoples who practice it as amongst the most degraded of their kind.

The universality of these feelings, and the sanction they receive from the inner witness in every human heart, are sufficient to justify their classification as part of that divinely inspired system of morality which forms the natural standard of right in the absence of a fuller revelation. The treatment of the dead is thus not matter of indifference from an ethical point of view, and when we find immemorial prescription, the teaching alike of the Synagogue and of the Church, together with the example, not alone of the patriarchs of the Old Law and the Saints of the New, but of the Redeemer of mankind Himself, in favour of earth sepulture, as opposed to all other methods of disposal of the body, we are entitled to assume it as part of the unwritten code in which so many of the divine ordinances are implied rather than expressed.

The practice of the chosen people from patriarchal times is in itself strong evidence on this point. Abraham's purchase of the field of Ephron as a place of sepulchre for Sara his wife is recorded in full detail in the twenty-third chapter of Genesis. "And so Abraham buried Sara, his wife, in the double cave of the field that looked towards Mambre; this is Hebron, in the land of Chanaan." In Hebron, too, were buried, according to Jewish tradition, all the other patriarchs and their wives, Adam and Eve, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Leah. The Jews are still accustomed to say, when they bury their dead, "Ye fathers, who sleep in Hebron, open to him the gates of Eden." The deaths of the kings of Israel, beginning with David, are usually recorded in the formula, "He slept with his fathers, and was buried with them." The case of Saul, indeed is an exception, but the burning of his remains with those of his sons was probably due to their having remained so long on the field of battle, and afterwards ignominiously suspended to the walls of Bethsan, as to be unfit for transport in any other way. This deprivation of the ordinary rites of sepulture may also have been part of the punishment of his transgressions. The bodies of the victims of the pestilence in Samaria were also burned, probably as a precaution against the spread of contagion.

Taking, however, the general bearing of the Scripture narrative, we find the denial of sepulture to the dead treated as the heaviest chastisement and mark of reprobation. To the wicked wife of Ahab it is foretold by Elias that "The dogs shall eat Jezebel in the field of Jezrahel,"* in punishment of her slaughter of the prophets. The prediction was literally fulfilled,

* iii. Kings, xxi. 23.

for when Jehu, after having had her put to death by being thrown from the wall of the city, sent his servants afterwards to bury her "because she was a King's daughter," they found nothing of her but "the skull and the feet, and the extremities of her hands." The body of her son Joram too was thrown unburied on Naboth's field by order of Jehu, the instrument of Divine vengeance. "Take him and cast him into the field according to the word of the Lord" was the sentence passed on him. A like dishonour was inflicted on the remains of Jason, the impious high priest who perverted Israel to heathen customs in the time of the Macchabees, the reason alleged for this special judgment being his similar treatment of others. "But he that had cast out many unburied, was himself cast forth unlamented and unburied, neither having foreign burial, nor being partaker of the sepulchre of his fathers." *

The story of Tobias throws a strong light on the sacredness of funeral rites among the Hebrews, for the special work of charity for which he was commended was his interment of his fellow captives under Sennacherib left unburied by that King's orders. Nay, even when himself condemned to death for his disregard of the royal decree, he still persisted, drawing down the animadversion of his neighbours, "who blamed him, saying, Once already commandment was given for thee to be slain because of this matter, and thou didst scarce escape the sentence of death, and dost thou again bury the dead?"

"But Tobias (the narrative goes on) fearing God more than the King, carried off the bodies of them that were slain, and hid them in his house, and at midnight buried them." † This good work is evidently regarded as no wise inferior in merit to an act of charity towards the living.

The teaching of the Old Law in this, as in all other essentials, received its final seal and ratification in the New. The practice of sepulture is there recommended to Christians by the Highest Example, nor can they forget that Mary Magdalen earned a special meed of praise for her lavish offerings of unguents and spikenard as having "wrought a good work" in anticipation of the burial of her Lord. Our Lady too according to universal belief, was laid in the tomb ere being thence assumed into heaven, the legend being that the sarcophagus in which she had lain was found filled with flowers. A very ancient tradition, handed down by Metaphrastus, Nicephorus, and the Damascene, avers that the Jews, mindful perhaps of the dismay caused in their ranks by the incontrovertible fact of the Resurrection, desired in their impious malice, to consign her body to the flames.

* iv. Kings, ix. 34-35. † Macch. 5-10.

‡ Tobias ii. 8-9.

The cells of the catacombs, with their wealth of evidence as to the practice and belief of early Christianity, remain to show how closely the example of its Founder was followed by those who came nearest to His teaching. In this they deliberately deviated from the usage of the society around them, in which modern cremationists have, on the other hand, found the pattern they prefer to follow. The funeral pyre, the method most in vogue in Pagan Rome, for the destruction of the remains of the higher classes at least, was borrowed from the Greeks, who had in their turn substituted it for the primitive custom of earth-burial prevailing in the time of Cecrops. Obviously of eastern origin, this rite belongs to the wide-spread system of nature-worship, in which fire was revered as the primary element and source of the vital principle. Heraclitus of Ephesus, an apostle of this creed, is quoted as the earliest advocate of cremation, and according to his commentator, "maintaining that everything is from fire, declared that bodies should be dissolved in fire." Classical writers are, however, by no means unanimous in approving the innovation, and Pliny writes as follows :

This mode of burning was not of ancient institution among the Romans, formerly they (the dead) were laid in the ground. But when they learned that those buried in distant wars were disinterred, then it was instituted. In many ways, however, the early rites were still preserved. Thus it was said that in the Cornelian family none was burned before Sylla, the Dictator, and that he desired it in order to escape the *lex talionis* for having disinterred the body of Caius Marius.

Nor was natural feeling always so completely overborne by Pagan superstition as to resign itself without a struggle to the pitiless destruction of the loved remains. Quintilian describes the despair of a Roman mother at surrendering to the consuming element, in obedience to custom and the wishes of her husband, the mortal relics of her son.

She hated the flames (he says), she hated the pyres, and desired that the body should be laid in earth, that the members should be preserved. You know too with what difficulty the day of the obsequies was decided by lot, until which she held her son fast while invested by the approaching flames. Rejoice, she said, rejoice, oh ! husband, thou perhaps this night shalt see thy son ; him whom thou hast burned with cruel flames ; him of whom the ashes and bones remain, thou shalt see in his youth.

She here refers apparently to the idea that the spirit, set free by fire, would return to visit its home, no doubt one of the consolatory assurances held out to her in order to gain her consent. Her case is a striking instance of the rebellion of natural feeling,

unfalsified by perverted usage, against the violence done to the form, which though inanimate, yet bears the imprint and semblance of life.

The burial of the dead has in Christian times always ranked among the corporal works of mercy, on equal terms with those performed for the benefit of the living. This principle is recognised in early mediæval legislation, and among the capitulars of Dagobert, King of France (628-638), is one decreeing a reward to any one giving interment to an unburied body, to be paid by the relatives of the deceased if a free man, or by his master, if a slave. To which is subjoined the addenda: "Otherwise he will receive the guerdon of the Lord; for it is written, bury the dead." The light in which cremation was viewed in those dark ages is indicated by the following Draconian provision in the capitulars of Charlemagne for the Saxons. "If any one shall have caused the body of a man to be consumed by the flames according to the custom of the Pagans, and shall have reduced the bones to ashes, he shall be put to death."

The universal consensus of Christendom in abandoning obsequies by fire, stigmatised by Tertullian as "most atrocious" (*"De Anima,"* cap. 1), rendered any definite pronouncement against them by the early Church unnecessary. But that the treatment of the dead, was not therefore regarded as matter of indifference is proved by the stern Decretal, *Detestanda feritatis*, promulgated by Boniface VIII. on this subject. The occasion of its issue was the growing prevalence of a custom which originated in the desire to transport for burial at home the remains of those who died in foreign countries, especially during the Crusades. The mangling and mutilation of the bodies under these circumstances, in order to facilitate their removal, is denounced by the Pontiff in the following energetic terms:

We, guided by the pious end we have in view, have justly resolved to abolish an abuse of detestable savagery, unthinkingly adopted by some of the faithful, in accordance with a horrible custom, in order that the barbarities of the aforesaid abuse may not continue, rending human bodies, and moving to horror the hearts of the faithful, and shocking their ears by their recital. Because the said faithful, allowing themselves to be misled by the vice of this, their undoubtedly reprehensible usage, if any of them of noble birth or eminent dignity pay the tribute of nature, especially if beyond the confines of their own lands, choosing their place of burial in these, or other remote countries, with a certain affection of impious piety, either savagely disembowel the body of the deceased, or cruelly dismembering or cutting it in pieces, expose these latter to the fire to cook immersed in water. And, finally (the bones being thus separated from the flesh), they send or transport them to the aforesaid places to be buried there. Which is not only in the highest degree abominable in the eyes of the divine

Majesty, but presents itself even to the view of human consideration as a thing to be abhorred with great vehemence.

After absolutely prohibiting these barbarities, and prescribing as an alternative, that the bodies, in the cases in question, should receive temporary religious burial in the place of death, before removal for permanent sepulture elsewhere, the Decretal goes on to pronounce sentence of excommunication *ipso facto* against the authors of the acts condemned, reserving to the Holy See alone the power of absolving from them save at the point of death, and forbidding religious burial to the bodies so treated.

Father Scurati, who cites this document in his work, points out, in commenting on it, that it bases its strictures, not on any pre-existing prohibition civil or ecclesiastical, but on the intrinsic nature of the acts themselves. They are declared to be "abominable in the eyes of the Divine Majesty," that is to say inherently and unquestionably sinful, as well as atrocious in the sight of man, from their violation of the instincts of piety and reverence. All the censures here pronounced, with the full authority of the Apostolic See, against these early abuses, seem equally applicable to cremation, as practised at the present day, nor can any moral distinction be drawn between the two. The latter is, in all its essential characteristics, identical with the processes denounced by the Decretal of Boniface. Whether the unnecessary substitution of cremation for inhumation be actually in itself a sinful breach of the natural law is a matter about which theologians may be found to differ. Upon this the Church has not yet pronounced any judgment, although she has forbidden the latter "detestable abuse" as she forbade the former.

The next intervention of the Church in an analogous matter occurred in reference to the dissection of bodies, demanded on the ground of its necessity for the advancement of medical science. Here, since anticipated benefit to the living was accepted as a valid plea, the study of anatomy on the human subject, under strict limitations, and to the extent demanded by absolute necessity alone, was sanctioned by Benedict XIV. The subsequent burial of the remains so used was stipulated for, and every safeguard, including the requirement of an authorisation from the bishop in each case, was introduced to prevent possible abuses of the system.

We thus find violence or outrage to the remains of the dead regarded in all times and ages as a grave offence against society and religion, while earth-burial comes recommended to us by its conformity with instinctive feeling, and by the general usage of mankind, especially by that portion of it to which the guidance of revelation has been vouchsafed. It was practised in patriarchal ages, it was practised in apostolic times, it has been invariably

practised down to our own day, not only by the Catholic Church, but by every denomination of Christians throughout the world. To whom, then, is the present movement of hostility to it due, and under what auspices has it been initiated and carried on?

The modern agitation in favour of cremation as opposed to inhumation, may be traced to its germ in a decree of the French Republic, 25th Brumaire 1797, giving the practice a permissive sanction. Its introduction, therefore, formed part of that general scheme of revolt against Christian usage and prescription to which all forms of modern impiety owe their origin. This special innovation, however, found no favour at the time, and the idea here enunciated lay dormant for more than half a century before finding a propitious atmosphere for development. It was first revived in an address delivered by Dr. Colletti in 1857 to the Academy of Science at Padua, and its principle was adopted twelve years later by the Medical Congress which then met in Florence. The first actual experiment was made in that year, and the second and third in the following one, by Professor Brunetti, of Padua, who used an open furnace out of doors as the mechanism for the operation. The burning, about the same time, of the body of an Indian prince, the Rajah of Kolapore, which took place by night in the Cascine of Florence, according to the rites of his own religion, may have helped to stimulate the movement.

Lombardy continued to be its head-quarters, and societies formed for its diffusion pressed it on the public with all the ardour of fanaticism. Milan, selected as the holy city of this new form of fire-worship, witnessed its first cremation in January 1876, when the remains of M. Albert Keller, of Zurich, were burned in a closed gas furnace. A royal decree legalised the process, and the method underwent what was considered an improvement, in the introduction of Signor Gorini's furnace, heated by ordinary fuel. Its inventor's previous life had been devoted to elaborating a process for a diametrically opposite end, that of preserving bodies after death by a species of petrification chemically produced. His apparatus for expediting their destruction is, despite its many imperfections, the one still in use. The example of Milan, where own to the close of 1886, 463 bodies had been thus consumed, was speedily followed by the other Lombard cities, and Lodi, Cremona, Brescia, Padua, and Varese had each its crematory oven. Nor was Rome behindhand in reviving its ancient Pagan rites. The first cremation there took place at the Campo Verano (San Lorenzo) in April 1883, and was followed by 123 others. Yet the total number in Italy, 788 to the end of 1886, bears a minute proportion to the annual death-rate, put down at 800,000.

Other countries have followed her lead, though with some hesitation, and the first German experiment, performed at Breslau in

1874, was followed, in October of that year, by another at Dresden, an English lady* being there the subject. The foundation of a Cremation Society in this country dates from the same year, but its operations at first encountered many obstacles. An attempt to come to terms with the proprietors of a London cemetery was frustrated by the prohibition of the Bishop of Rochester, and though a site was procured at Woking in 1879, where Dr. Gorini's furnace was erected and tested on the body of a horse, the Home Secretary refused to sanction its use for human remains. Meantime the process attracted the attention of scientific men; it found a warm advocate in Sir Henry Thompson, and was favourably brought to the notice of the British Medical Association by Sir Spencer Wells in August 1880. Captain Hanham, of Blandford, Dorset, an enthusiastic convert to their views, having been refused permission for the public cremation of two deceased members of his family, had the operation privately performed in his demesne, in October 1882. His own death, in the following year, provided another subject for the crematorium, the authorities still maintaining a passive attitude. But from this they were roused by an overt act of defiance shortly after, when the cremation of the body of a child in Wales, in contravention of the orders of the coroner, was made the subject of legal proceedings against the parents. The result was the establishment of the legality of the process, conditionally on its performance without creating a nuisance, by the judgment of Sir James Stephen, in February 1884.

The next move of its promoters was the introduction, in the following April, of Dr. Cameron's Bill, intended to give it Parliamentary sanction, and containing, among other provisions a clause rendering burial illegal without medical certificate. Both the Government and Opposition of the day, however, united in hostility to the measure, which was rejected by 149 votes to 79. Undaunted by this rebuff, the Society, secure as to the legality of its action, issued a prospectus, undertaking the incineration of bodies at a fixed rate of charges, and under certain specified conditions. The building erected at Woking was used for the first time on March 20, 1885, and twice again in the course of that year. In 1886, ten bodies were burned, one of them being that of a Brahmin, and before the close of 1887, a total of twenty-six cremations had been reached, to which have been added since, twenty-eight for 1888, and forty-six for 1889. Public subscriptions are required for the maintenance of the movement, of which the Dukes of Westminster and Bedford are the most zealous supporters. The latter has had a private crematorium erected on

* The first wife of Sir Charles Dilke.

the Society's ground at Woking, and has contributed £4100 to the building and other funds. The new system has, however, remained in England rather the craze of a small though enthusiastic band of sectaries, than a movement which has taken any hold on the general public.

In other countries its fate has been the same. Artificially introduced and propagated in Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, it has attracted but a small number of adherents. In Paris, it was at first looked coldly on by the municipality; but a beginning was made in Père la Chaise in October 1887, with the burning of the bodies of two victims of small-pox. Since then there have been a few cremations, the subjects having been for the most part atheists or free-thinkers. In Germany, Gotha alone has a crematorium, in which, from its inauguration in January 1879 to the beginning of 1889, 600 cremations had taken place. The same partial success has attended the introduction of the system into the New World, and the United States have furnished but a small contingent of devotees to the funeral pyre. An attempt to transplant the custom to the southern hemisphere proved a total failure, a Bill to legalise and regulate it presented to the New South Wales Legislature in 1886, having been rejected by that assembly. The Lutheran clergy of Prussia incurred much obloquy from the infidel press by their opposition to it, and those of Denmark showed themselves equally hostile.

We have thus for the first time an innovation in immemorial custom, on a matter touching the deepest sentiments of humanity, not spontaneously adopted in conformity with gradual change of opinion, but forced on the public in a spirit of aggressive partisanship, with all the leverage of an extensive and active organisation. In July 1882, there were in Italy alone, twenty-two cremation societies, with 5000 subscribing members, and five "propagating commissions." A like machinery is at work in other countries, disseminating in the press as well as by means of conferences, congresses, and every other denomination of collective gathering, arguments in favour of this new religion of the dead. Such ardour in a cause apparently so little calculated to attract sympathy cannot be the chance product of aimless opinion; but must have its source of inspiration in some unavowed motive.

This is found in the hostility of Freemasonry to all the observances of revealed religion, and in its consequent adoption of Cremation as a substitute for the Christian method of disposing of the dead. Superabundant proof of this is found in the avowals of its own organs, from which Father Scurati gives numerous extracts. Thus the *Rivista della Massoneria*

Italiana of June 1st, 1871, reports a meeting of the brethren held on May 26th previous, at which the wish was formulated that "the cemeteries may become purely civil without distinction of creeds or rites," while "the promotion of Cremation among the municipalities," and "the study of the best system for attaining that object" were recommended to those present. A German paper *Deutsche Republikanische Zeitung*, of October 31st, of the same year, affirmed that "Cremation was proposed by the Lodges," and that "our brethren in North Italy have placed it among the number of works to be undertaken."

Adrien Grimaux in the *Monde Maçonique*, August-September, 1876, writes to the same effect:

Our institution in Italy calmly prosecutes its labours. The Lodge *La Ragione* of Milan, has taken the initiative in experimenting on the burning of the dead. Under the direction of Dr. Pini, one of the brothers, such a ceremony was performed in presence of a great concourse of people. The experiment was, it appears, eminently successful, and *La Ragione* has made numerous recruits.

La Chaîne d' Union, again, the Parisian organ of universal Freemasonry, in its number of August 8th, 1877, reports a meeting of the General Assembly of the Lodges of the Grand Orient of Italy, at which 120 Lodges were represented, and says:

The proposal presented by the Lodge, *La Ragione* of Milan that Masonry should take under its auspices the question of the burning of bodies, was most favourably received and approved.

Cremation, therefore, by the adoption of this resolution, became the *mot d' ordre* of the confederated Lodges of United Italy to the number of 120. The same paper contained, in its number of December 10th, 1877, a description of the obsequies of one of the sect in Milan, and described the cremation of the body, with the attendance of greater part of the brethren of the Milanese Lodges, as "a most moving ceremony which consecrated anew this fresh step in human progress, the triumph of which in Italy is due in great measure to Freemasonry."

In a noteworthy circular from the Masonic authorities, recently published in the *Gazette du Midi*, we find the following among other admonitions:

We recommend in an especial manner to the brethren never to lose sight of the orders of Masonry in regard to the cremation of bodies, civil marriages, and funerals, and to preventing, as far as possible, the baptism of infants.

The true object of the Masonic body in the adoption of this new tenet, disguised from the profane vulgar under the cloak of hygienic and sentimental considerations, is openly avowed in the

speeches and writings of some of its less discreet members. It is no other than that which dictates all the activity of the society—namely, the desire to remove or undermine one by one the external props which buttress up religious belief in the human mind. The following sentence alone is conclusive on the subject. It is part of an address published in May 1885 by Signor Luigi Castellazzo, Secretary to the Freemasons of Rome, in which, in speaking of the deaths of Victor Hugo and Terenzio Mamiani, he enumerates as follows the moral losses suffered by the Papacy and the clergy in Italy :

Civil marriage deprives them of the control of the family. Lay education will shortly withdraw from them that of the rising generation. Civil funerals and cremation pyres will then rob them of their last pretension to rule over death. Progress will thus soon have annihilated them.

The hope, equally impious and inane, of eradicating from the human mind the fear of death, the great fulcrum of religion, is avowed in the following extract from another exponent of the views of the Lodges. Signor Ghisleri, in the *Almanacco dei Liberi Muratori* for 1881, is here their spokesman :

Catholics have good reason to oppose cremation ; this purification of the dead by means of fire would shake to its foundations Catholic predominance, based on the terror with which it has surrounded death. Death would then cease to be horrible, and the horror and repugnance which the grave inspires are among the most efficacious instruments of the hobgoblin machinery which Catholic rhetoric makes use of in order to humble the faithful. The *Remember thou must die* is the keystone of their dominion ; strip death of this character of horror and fantastic repugnance, purify it as Gorini says, render it, as it were, amiable in the eyes of the living, and the priests are done for. (*I preti son fritti.*) The *Remember thou must die* would no longer produce its old effect.

The apex of philosophic folly is here reached, in the idea that the natural fear of death is artificially created by the subsequent treatment of the remains. As to the "amiability" with which it is invested by the rites of the cremation temple, we shall see later on how far they are adapted to that end. But the obliteration of that sentiment of reverence for the frail clay which has once enshrined an immortal spirit implanted by nature herself as an argument of its survival, is the real aim of this sacrilegious conspiracy. This was expressed in the following utterance of one of its chief pillars, Professor Gorini, in his book "*La Purificazione dei Morti*":

Our task is not confined to the mere burning of the dead, but extends to burning and destroying superstition as well, purifying the

religion of the urns from the prejudices in which it has been wrapped by those to whom belongs the doubtful prerogative of having been the cremators of the past.

The *Secolo* of Milan of November 23, 1883, declares that by cremation :

Death is stripped of its tremendous aspect of bones and skulls, and is reduced to a handful of ashes in an urn, to an indelible memory in the heart.

A vague Pantheistic belief in "the transformation," as they phrase it, "of the human body into Nature," is substituted by these Neo-Pagans for the Christian dogma of the resurrection of the dead. Professor Goriui even proposed at once to accelerate the above consummation, and render cremation a paying business, by selling the resulting ashes to farmers for manure. We give in his own words the impious arguments by which he supports this odious suggestion :

The result would be that this osseous material would partially return to be reincarnated in the bodies of the living Milanese, that which had served the lives of their former progenitors resuming in them a new life. Such is the only transmigration of souls that can be verified, such is the only resurrection of the body recognised by science.

Nor is any effort of eloquence spared in endeavouring to invest with a halo of poetic sentiment this redistribution of the physical elements of life, as though these professed materialists, shrinking from the conclusions of their own dark creed, clung involuntarily to the belief in the survival of individual consciousness in association with them. Signor Ghisleri, in the periodical already quoted from, develops as follows this branch of the subject :

To burn, or rather to transmute our flesh in which the pulsations of the organism had ceased, into gaseous waves and vibrations which will mingle in renewed fecundity in the eternal life of the universe ! Oh rapid transformation ! in one short hour commingled with the inner being of the great All ! We shall be dissolved, our destiny will be fulfilled, but it will be fulfilled in peace. We shall have said adieu to our sentient form, without exciting the disgust of our fellow-creatures, without frightening children or scaring weak women. Death is the dissolution of our form of life when worn out, in order to make way for and lend shape to other lives, born again in the eternal spring of the universe. It is a drop returning to its native ocean. And it will be life indeed, this transformation of ours in one short hour ! As invisible atoms we shall stoop to kiss the corollas of the flowers, to toy with the grasses in the fields, we shall enter into the respiration of the trees, we shall perhaps fly with the hurricane to visit new tracts of sky and distant regions.

In recapitulating these blasphemous ravings, we cannot help stopping to ask ourselves what must be the intellectual perversion of those who can accept this silly *rechauffée* of Hindu Pantheism in substitution for the sublime Christian doctrine of a future state, what the mental degradation of men who can reject St. Paul in order to adopt Gorini. "These be your gods, O Israel," and from the wisdom of the preachers of the new philosophy we may make an approximate guess at that of their disciples. Their attitude towards the Founder of Christianity may be judged of by the following impious stanza from an Ode to Cremation, by its poet laureate, Signor Mariotti :

Thus to the gnawing worm no longer given as prey,
Be man, nor life quite o'er,
As to the Nazarene the after world shall say,
He died, to rise once more.

These extracts are sufficient evidence of a deliberate attempt to veil the dread realities of death under a cloud of sonorous but unmeaning phrases, while removing from the eyes of the living all such relics of it as tend to keep fresh in their hearts the reverent memories of those who have gone before. The tremendous lesson of mortality is, as far as possible, hidden out of sight, and the mortuary ceremonies are made to assume almost a festive character. The extravagant use of flowers at modern funerals originates in the same desire to distract the minds of survivors from the tragic solemnity of the occasion, though we do not mean to imply that this purpose is recognised by all who follow the usage.

The permissive sanction at present accorded to the rites of cremation is far from satisfying its votaries, and they look forward to the day when the funeral pyre shall be made universally compulsory. The expectant attitude they at present assume is openly declared to be but temporary, by their most doughty champion, Professor Gorini.

In order that the columbarium may serve its purpose (he says), cremation must have entered to such an extent into the usages of the population that only a few, and those the incorrigibly retrograde, shall continue to prefer inhumation. Only then will the law be able to intervene to render cremation obligatory. Until then, all that can be done by the law is to leave every one free to choose, as regards the treatment of his own remains, between cremation and inhumation. And now there is no longer any doubt that following the initiative of Italy, this liberty will be granted to all the civilised populations of Europe. For several years after this, cremations will still be in limited number, because prejudice will long continue to struggle with reason, and to throw obstacles and impediments in the way of cremation ; but reason, as ever, will triumph in the end, and I imagine that

after two or three generations, that is towards the end of the next century, we shall be in such a position that it will be practicable to promulgate the aforesaid law, prescribing the obligation of cremation.

This then, is the ultimate goal of those who now claim for themselves, in the name of liberty, that freedom of choice they are prepared, when strong enough, to deny to others. Hence the era of this "new and civil religion of the sepulchre," as another of its votaries calls it, is not intended to inaugurate freedom of conscience for non-believers.

Among practical objections to cremation is one which Lord Dartmouth in a recent letter to the secretary of the Church of England Burial, Funeral, and Mourning Reform Association, declares to be insuperable, namely the destruction, together with the remains, of all evidence of the cause of death, so often ascertained in criminal cases by subsequent examination and analysis. The annals of jurisprudence abound in instances of the detection, by this means, of murder either by poison or bodily violence, but even the actual number of such cases is no clue to what it might become, were the restraining fear of this form of proof removed. Safeguards are suggested in the requirement of medical certificate of the cause of death and of post-mortem examination in all doubtful cases. Such regulations, however, are apt to degenerate into mere formalities, nor would they meet the many recorded cases in which suspicion has been awakened only after the lapse of a considerable interval. Thus in Rome, within the last few years, the exhumation after a month, of the remains of General Gibbone, furnished evidence of his death by poison, of administering which his servant was convicted.

Another argument against the process from the utilitarian point of view, is deduced from the withdrawal from the soil in the destruction of the human body by fire, of certain elements restored to it in the course of its gradual assimilation by the earth. Dr. Carlo Besana, in the *Bolletino dell' Agricoltura* for February 1876, gives the following chemical results.

Cremation transforms human bodies into water, carbonic acid, sulphuric acid, and nitrogen; hence of the three elements essential to vegetation only two, water and carbonic acid are restored. The third, ammonia, is not there, because completely oxidised, and converted into water and nitrogen; now free nitrogen is not assimilated by plants, as is proved by the experiments of many chemists and physiologists.

Those treating the subject from this point of view even profess to give an arithmetical value to their calculations, reckoning the loss to agriculture from the cremation of a human body weighing sixty kilogrammes, as equivalent to fifty kilogrammes of corn.

Such scientific deductions are, however, rather fanciful than practical, and only serve to show under how many different aspects the subject may be regarded.

A reform in burial usages is indeed believed by many to be urgently required, but it is not in cremation that the desired remedy is to be sought. Mr. Seymour Haden, in his pamphlet on "*The Disposal of the Dead*," has pointed out that the overcrowding complained of in urban cemeteries, with all the consequent dangers to the living, is due to the practice of burying in hermetically-sealed coffins, by which the natural processes of transformation are artificially prolonged. These are harmlessly and rapidly accomplished by contact with earth, the great disinfectant. By its aid the body is absolutely resolved into its elements in a period of from three to five years, at the end of which the same soil is ready to play its part in the process once more. Thus, by the substitution of perishable for imperishable coffins, the problem of the innoxious disposal of the dead is satisfactorily solved.

The physical effects of cremation, painful as they are to investigate, are intimately bound up with its ethical position, since they constitute that brutal violence to our common humanity, which revolts and outrages the moral sense. The destruction of the body by the agency of fire is accomplished only with much difficulty, and presents a horrifying spectacle. The Siemens oven in use at Gotha, the most powerful calorific apparatus designed by modern science, requires two hours to effect incineration, even when heated to 1400° Fahr. by nine hours' previous preparation. The calcined bones and ashes constituting its residuum, weigh in the case of a man six, and in that of a woman, four pounds. The violence of the resistance offered by the body to the action of the flames causes, despite the iron bands constraining the limbs, contortions scarcely less horrible to witness than those of a still sentient organism undergoing a like destruction. We will spare our readers the gruesome details enumerated by an eye-witness in Milan, noting only the effect of horror produced on his mind by the spectacle which haunted his mental vision for days.

Nor is the combustion, even in the improved Milanese apparatus, so complete as to consume all the animal products; the smoke of the unholy sacrifice carries the dreadful odour of their exhalations to a distance of several kilometres, and dishonoured fragments of humanity have been detected in that fetid reek, and amid the grimy flux of the furnace passages. It is by profanations like these that death is to be rendered "amiable," according to the programme of the new school of mortuary reform.

Perhaps the most pitiable case of cremation on record is one detailed by Professor Porri in the pages of the *Gazzetta Medica Italiana Lombarda*, in which the subject was an infant of six months old, the only child of parents in a good social position. The ceremony, performed on January 21st, 1883, furnished a spectacle for the loungers of the city, who came and went while the frail form, strained by metal bands on the plate of the furnace, underwent the sickening phases of combustion. To these it offered an unexpectedly obstinate resistance, and at the end of two hours was still only partially consumed, while the supply of wood, even reinforced by the tiny coffin, was exhausted, and had to be renewed before the operation could be completed. The parents were not present, and we may presume that not even fanatical enthusiasm in an evil cause could steel the mother's heart to witness, though she permitted, the inhuman desecration of the relics of her dead baby.

To Catholics, indeed, the argument from sentiment need no longer be adduced since the Church has pronounced authoritatively on the subject. The present Pontiff having ordered the examination of the question by the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, the latter has declared that "it is not lawful to inscribe one's name in societies whose object is to propagate the usage of cremating human bodies," that "in the case of societies affiliated to Freemasonry, their members incur the penalties decreed against Freemasons," and finally, "that it is not permitted to order one's body, or the bodies of other persons to be cremated after death." The Holy Father, moreover, has recommended the bishops to instruct the faithful, when circumstances require it, as to the reprobation by the Church of the practice, and to take all means to deter them from it.

Acting in conformity with this decree, Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris, has recently addressed a letter to the *cure's* of his diocese in reference to the subject.

The doctrines (writes His Eminence) professed by the men who seek to bring this custom into honour were a motive for rendering such an attempt suspected by the faithful. In fact, they are generally men openly affiliated to Freemasonry, or at least not sufficiently on their guard against the influence of the sects hostile to the Church, and the seduction of the errors diffused through modern society by naturalism under the pretext of scientific progress. Moreover, the enemies of religion have more than once publicly declared that the great advantage of cremation was to keep the priest away from the funeral, and to replace Christian burial by civil obsequies. It is not, therefore, surprising that several bishops and even earnest Christians have addressed themselves to the Holy See to know what rule of conduct ought to be followed in reference to the cremation of bodies.

His Eminence, after reciting the Decree as quoted above, goes on to declare that in presence of these formal declarations of the Holy See, no religious ceremony can for the future be permitted for those who have desired to be cremated after death, as by this very fact they put themselves in contradiction to the laws of the Church, and voluntarily place themselves among those persons to whom it is necessary to refuse ecclesiastical burial. Cardinal Richard pronounces the system of cremation a triumph of materialism over spiritualism, and says that

Such a custom tends to weaken religious feeling and to introduce naturalism among the population, and would inevitably destroy, little by little, the necessary conditions of moral order and even the security of States.

He distinguishes, however, between the different motives of those who advocate it, and recognises in the following passage the good faith of those who only do so through ignorance of its real meaning.

If the efforts to propagate the custom of incineration have been, in most cases, inspired by hatred of the Christian faith, there have been, and there are, we believe, men of sincerity and honesty who have merely seen in this practice a scientific and social question.

The publication of this letter, which caused no small sensation in Paris, was generally approved by the religious world. M. Renan, though in the hostile camp, declares the instructions of the Archbishop conformable to the Christian tradition, but bases his personal antagonism to cremation on other grounds.

As regards myself (he is reported to have said) you know I do not believe in the resurrection, at least not according to the dogma of the Church, and therefore it matters little to me whether I am burned or buried. But I oppose cremation on social and scientific principles which it would take too long to explain.

Thus condemned by the intuitive religion of the heart, as well as by the tradition of the divinely taught depositaries of revealed truth from the beginning of the world, cremation is now denounced by a decree of the Church, unmistakably enunciated. Its position is clearly defined henceforth as a perversion originally sprung from heathen error in those who had not known the light, and now revived by the worse prevarication of those who have rejected it. It comes to them recommended by its far-breathed perfume of Paganism, derived from the days when men worshipped the elemental fire-god on Syrian heights, and handed down through the practice of other nations, who had forgotten that early faith while inheriting its forms. Raked out from the

lumber-room of history by those who adopt it neither from creed nor custom, it is symbolical of the retrograde character of a philosophy which boasts of leading the van of progress, yet reverts to the primal age of the world to seek a weapon against Christianity in the cast-off trappings of effete superstitions. But to the Catholic who takes his teaching from the unwavering ray that alone leads onward and upward, cremation stands thrice-condemned—by the instinct of nature, by the dictate of prudence, and by the decision of the Church.

EDITORIAL.

P.S.—It may be useful to add here a translation and also the original of the Decree of the 19th May 1886 referred to in the text, in which the practice of cremation is styled a “detestable abuse.”

“Several bishops and prudent members of Christ’s flock, knowing that certain men possessed of doubtful faith, or belonging to the Masonic sect, strongly contend at the present day for the practice of the Pagan custom of cremation, founding special societies to spread this custom, fear lest the minds of the faithful may be worked upon by their wiles and sophistries so as to lose by degrees esteem and reverence towards the constant Christian usage of burying the bodies of the faithful—a usage hallowed by the solemn rites of the Church. In order, therefore, that some fixed rule may be laid down for the faithful to preserve them from the insidious doctrines abave mentioned, the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition is asked—

1. Is it lawful to become a member of those societies whose object it is to spread the practice of cremation?
2. Is it lawful to leave orders for the burning of one’s own body or that of another?

Their Eminences the Cardinals General Inquisitors, after grave and mature consideration, answered :

To the 1st question, No ; and if it is a question of societies connected with the Masonic sect, the penalties pronounced against this sect would be incurred.

To the 2nd, No.

When these decisions were referred to our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., his Holiness approved and confirmed them, and directed them to be communicated to the bishops, in order that they might instruct the faithful upon the detestable abuse of cremation, and might do all in their power to keep the flock entrusted to their charge from such a practice.”

Non pauci Sacrorum Antistites cordatique Christifideles animadvertentes, ab hominibus vel dubiæ fidei, vel Masonicæ sectæ addictis magno nisu hodie contendere, ut ethnicorum usus de hominum cadaveribus comburendis instauretur, atque in hunc finem speciales etiam societates ab iisdem institui: veriti, ne eorum artibus et cavillationibus fidelium mentes capiantur, et sensim in eis imminuatur existimatio et reverentia erga Christianam constantem et solemnibus ritibus ab Ecclesia consecratam consuetudinem fidelium corpora humandi: ut aliqua certa norma iisdem fidelibus præsto sit qua sibi a memoratis insidiis caveant; a Suprema S. Rom. et Univ. Inquisitionis Congregatione declarari postularunt:

1. An licitum sit nomen dare societatibus, quibus propositum est promovere usum comburendi hominum cadavera?

2. An licitum sit mandare, ut sua aliorumve cadavera comburantur?

Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres Cardinales in rebus fidei Generales Inquisitores, supra scriptis dubiis serio ac mature perpensis, præhabitoque DD. Consultorum Voto, respondendum censuerunt:

Ad 1. Negative, et si agatur de societatibus Masonicæ sectæ filiabus, incurri pœnas contra hanc latas.

Ad 2. Negative.

Factaque de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papæ XIII. relatione, Sanctitas Sua resolutiones Eminentissimorum Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit, et cum locorum Ordinariis communicandas mandavit, ut opportune instruendos curent Christifideles circa detestabilem abusum corpora cremandi, utque ab eo gregem sibi concreditum totibus viribus deterreant.

IOS. MANCINI,

S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis. Notarius.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE
CHIEF DUTIES OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENS.

Venerabilibus Fratribus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis aliisque locorum Ordinariis pacem et communionem cum Apostolica Sede habentibus,

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

SAPIENTIAE christianae revocari praecepta, eisque vitam, mores, instituta populorum penitus conformari, quotidie magis apparet oportere. Illis enim posthabitis, tanta vis est malorum consecuta, ut nemo sapiens nec ferre sine ancipiti cura praesentia queat, nec in posterum sine metu prospicere.—Facta quidem non mediocris est ad ea bona, quae sunt corporis et externa, progressio: sed omnis natura, quae hominis percellit sensus, opumque et virium et copiarum possessio, si commoditates gignere suavitatesque augere vivendi potest, natum ad maiora ac magnificentiora animum explere non potest. Deum spectare, atque ad ipsum contendere, suprema lex est vitae hominum: qui ad imaginem conditi similitudinemque divinam, naturâ ipsâ ad auctorem suum potiundum vehementer incitantur. Atqui non motu aliquo cursuque corporis tenditur ad Deum, sed iis quae sunt animi, cognitione atque affectu. Est enim Deus prima ac suprema veritas, nec nisi mens veritate alitur: est idem perfecta sanctitas summumque bonorum, quo sola voluntas aspirare et accedere, duce virtute, potest.

Quod autem de singulis hominibus, idem de societate tum domestica tum etiam civili intelligendum. Non enim ob hanc caussam genuit natura societatem ut ipsam homo sequeretur tamquam finem, sed ut in ea et per eam adiumenta ad perfectionem sui apta reperiret. Si quae igitur civitas nihil praeter commoditates externas vitaeque cultum cum elegantia et copia persequatur, si Deum in administranda republica negligere, nec leges curare morales consueverit, deterime aberrat ab instituto suo et praescriptione naturae, neque tam est ea societas hominum et communitas putanda, quam fallax imitatio simulatioque societatis.—Iamvero ea, quae diximus, animi bona, quae in verae religionis cultu constantique praeceptorum christianorum custodia maxime reperiuntur, quotidie obscurari hominum oblivione aut fastidio cernimus, ita fere ut, quanto sunt earum rerum incrementa maiora, quae corpus attingunt, tanto earum, quae animum, maior videatur occasus. Imminutae plurimumque debilitatae fidei christianae magna significatio est in iis ipsis iniuriis, quae catholico nomini in luce atque in oculis hominum nimis saepe inferuntur: quas quidem cultrix religionis aetas nullo pacto tulisset.—His de caussis incredibile dictu est, quanta hominum multitudo in aeternae salutis discrimine versetur: sed civitates ipsae atque imperia diu incolumia esse non possunt, quia labentibus institutis moribusque christianis, maxima societatis humanae fundamenta ruere necesse est. Tranquillitati publicae atque ordini tuendo

sola vis relinquitur : vis autem valde est infirma, praesidio religionis detracto : eademque servituti pariendae quam obedientiae aptior, gerit in se ipsa magnarum perturbationum inclusa semina. Graves memoratu casus saeculum tulit : nec satis liquet num non sint pertimescendi pares.—Itaque tempus ipsum monet remedia, unde oportet, quaerere : videlicet christianam sentiendi agendique rationem in vita privata, in omnibus reipublicae partibus, restituere : quod est unum ad pellenda mala, quae premunt, ad prohibenda pericula, quae impendent, aptissimum. In id nos, Venerabiles Fratres, incumbere opus est, id maxima qua possumus contentione industriae conari : eiusque rei caussa, quamquam aliis locis, ut sese dedit opportunitas, similia tradidimus, utile tamen arbitramur esse in his Litteris magis enucleate officia describere catholicorum : quae officia, si accurate servantur, mirabiliter ad rerum communium salutem valent. Incidimus in vehementem eamque prope quotidianam de rebus maximis dimicationem : in qua difficillimum est non decipi aliquando, non errare, non animo multos succumbere. Nostrum est, Venerabiles Fratres, admonere quemque, docere, adhortari convenienter temporis, ut *viam veritatis nemo deserat*.

Esse in usu vitae plura ac maiora catholicorum officia, quam eorum qui sint fidei catholicae aut perperam compotes, aut omnino expertes, dubitari non potest. Cum, parta iam hominum generi salute, Iesus Christus praedicare Evangelium Apostolos iussit omni creaturae, hoc pariter officium hominibus universis imposuit, ut perdiscerent et crederent, quae docerentur : cui quidem officio sempiternae salutis omnino est adeptio coniuncta. *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit : qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.** Sed christianam fidem homo, ut debet, complexus, hoc ipso Ecclesiae ut ex ea natus subiicitur, eiusque fit societatis maximae sanctissimaeque particeps, quam summa cum potestate regere, sub invisibili capite Christo Iesu, romani Pontificis proprium est munus.—Nunc vero si civitatem, in qua editi susceptique in hanc lucem sumus, praecipue diligere tuerique iubemur lege naturae usque eo, ut civis bonus vel mortem pro patria oppetere non dubitet, officium est christianorum longe maius simili modo esse in Ecclesiam semper affectos. Est enim Ecclesia civitas sancta Dei viventis, Deo ipso nata, eodemque auctore constituta : quae peregrinatur quidem in terria, sed vocans homines et erudiens atque deducens ad sempiternam in caelis felicitatem. Adamanda igitur patria est, unde vitae mortalis usuram accepimus : sed necesse est caritate Ecclesiam praestare, cui vitam animae debemus perpetuo mansuram : quia bona animi corporis bonis rectum est anteponere, multoque, quam erga homines, sunt erga Deum officia sanctiora.—Ceterum, vere si iudicare volumus, supernaturalis amor Ecclesiae patriaeque caritas naturalis, geminae sunt ab eodem sempiterno principio profectae caritates, cum ipse sit utriusque auctor et caussa Deus : ex quo consequitur, non posse alterum officium pugnare cum altero. Utique utrumque possumus et debemus, diligere nosmetipsos, bene-

* Marc. xvi. 16.

volentes esse cum proximis, amare rempublicam potestatemque quae reipublicae praesit: eodemque tempore Ecclesiam colere uti parentem, et maxima, qua fieri potest, caritate complecti Deum. — Nihilominus horum officiorum ordo, vel calamitate temporum vel iniquiore hominum voluntate, aliquando pervertitur. Nimirum incidunt caussae, cum aliud videtur a civibus respublica, aliud a christianis religio postulare: idque non alia sane de causa, quam quod rectores reipublicae sacram Ecclesiae potestatem aut nihil pensi habent, aut sibi volunt esse subiectam. Hinc et certamen existit, et periclitandae virtuti in certamine locus. Urget enim potestas duplex: quibus contraria iubentibus obtemperari simul utrisque non potest: *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire*,* ita ut omnino, si mos geritur alteri, alterum posthaberi necesse sit. Uter vero sit anteponendus, dubitare nemo debet. — Videlicet scelus est ab obsequio Dei, satisfaciendi hominibus causâ, discedere: nefas Iesu Christi leges, ut pareatur magistratibus, perrumpere, aut, per speciem civilis conservandi iuris, iura Ecclesia migrare. *Obedire oportet Deo magis, quam hominibus.*† Quodque olim magistratibus non honesta imperantibus Petrus ceterique Apostoli respondere consueverunt, idem semper est in causa simili sine haesitatione respondendum. Nemo civis pace bellove melior, quam christianus sui memor officii: sed perpeti omnia potius, et ipsam malle mortem debet, quam Dei Ecclesiaeve causam deserere. — Quapropter non habent vim naturamque legum probe perspectam, qui istam in delectu officii constantiam reprehendunt, et ad seditionem aiunt pertinere. Vulgo cognita et a Nobis ipsis aliquoties explicata loquimur. Non est lex, nisi iussio rectae rationis a potestate legitima in bonum commune perlata. Sed vera ac legitima potestas nulla est, nisi a Deo summo principe dominoque omnium profisciscatur, qui mandare homini in homines imperium solus ipse potest: neque est recta ratio putanda, quae cum veritate dissentiat et ratione divina: neque verum bonum, quod summo atque incommutabili bono repugnet, vel a caritate Dei torqueat hominum atque abducat voluntates. — Sanctum igitur christianis est publicae potestatis nomen, in qua divinae maiestatis speciem et imaginem quandam tum etiam agnoscunt, cum geritur ab indigno: iusta et debita legum verecundia, non propter vim et minas, sed propter conscientiam officii: *non enim dedit nobis Deus spiritum timoris.*‡ Verum si reipublicae leges aperte discrepent cum iure divino, si quam Ecclesiae imponant iniuriam, aut iis, quae sunt de religione, officiis contradicant, vel auctoritatem Iesu Christi in pontifice maximo violent, tum vero resistere officium est, parere scelus: idque cum ipsis reipublicae iniuria coniunctum, quia peccatur in rempublicam quidquid in religione delinquitur. — Rursus autem apparet quam sit illa seditionis iniusta criminatio: non enim abicitur principi legumque latoribus obedientia debita: sed ab eorum voluntate in iis dumtaxat praeceptis disceditur, quorum ferendorum nulla potestas est, quia cum Dei iniuria feruntur, ideoque vacant iustitia, et quidvis potius sunt quam leges. — Nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, hanc esse ipsi-

* Matt. vi. 24.

† Acts v. 29.

‡ 2 Tim. i. 7.

simam beati Pauli Apostoli doctrinam: qui cum scripsisset ad Titum, monendos christianos *principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, dicto obedire*, illud statim adiungit, *ad omne opus bonum paratos esse*: * quo palam fieret, si leges hominum contra sempiternam legem Dei quicquam statuunt, rectum esse non parere. Similique ratione princeps Apostolorum iis, qui libertatem praedicandi Evangelii sibi vellent eripere, forti atque excelso animo respondebat, *si iustum est in conspectu Dei, vos potius audire, quam Deum, iudicate: non enim possumus quae vidimus et audivimus non loqui*.†

Ambas itaque patrias unumquemque diligere, alteram naturae, alteram civitatis caelestis, ita tamen ut huius, quam illius habeatur caritas antiquior, nec unquam Dei iuribus iura humana anteponantur, maximum est christianorum officium, itemque velut fons quidam, unde alia officia nascuntur. Sane liberator generis humani de se ipse *Ego*, inquit, *in hoc natus sum et ad hoc veni in mundum, ut testimonium perhibeam veritati*.‡ Similiter, *ignem veni mittere in terram, et quid volo, nisi ut accendatur*? § In huius cognitione veritatis, quae mentis est summa perfectio, in caritate divina, quae perficit pari modo voluntatem, omnis christianorum est vita ac libertas posita. Quarum rerum, veritatis scilicet et caritatis, nobilissimum patrimonium, sibi a Iesu Christo commendatum, perpetuo studio vigilantiaque conservat ac tuetur Ecclesia.

Sed quam acre adversus Ecclesiam bellum deflagraverit quamque multiplex, vix attinet hoc loco dicere. Quod enim rationi contigit complures res occultas et a natura involutas scientiae pervestigatione reperire, easque in vitae usus apte convertere, tantos sibi spiritus sumpserunt homines, ut iam se putent numen posse imperiumque divinum a communi vita depellere.—Quo errore decepti, transferunt in naturam humanam ereptum Deo principatum: a natura petendum omnis veri principium et normam praedicant: ab ea manare, ad eamque esse cuncta religionis officia referenda. Quocirca nihil esse divinitus traditum: non disciplinae morum christianae, non Ecclesiae parendum: nullam huic esse legum ferendarum potestatem, nulla iura; imo nec ullum Ecclesiae dari in reipublicae institutis locum oportere. Expetunt vero atque omni ope contendunt capessere res publicas et ad gubernacula sedere civitatum, quo sibi facilius liceat ad has doctrinas dirigere leges moresque fingere populorum. Ita passim catholicum nomen vel aperte petitur, vel occulte oppugnatur: magnaque cuilibet errorum perversitati permissa licentia, multis saepe vinculis publica veritatis christianae professio constringitur.

His igitur tam iniquis rebus, primum omnium respicere se quisque debet, vehementerque curare, ut alte comprehensam animo fidem intenta custodia tueatur, cavendo pericula, nominatimque contra varias sophismatum fallacias semper armatus. Ad cuius incolunitatem virtutis illud etiam perutile, et magnopere consentaneum temporibus iudicamus, studium diligens, ut est facultas et captus singulorum, in christiana doctrina ponere, earumque rerum, quae religionem

* Tit. iii. 1.

† Acts iv. 19, 20.

‡ Io. xviii. 37.

§ Luc. xii. 49.

continent, quasque assequi ratione licet, maiore qua potest notitia mentem imbuere. Cumque fidem non modo vigere in animis incorruptam, sed assiduis etiam incrementis oporteat augescere, iteranda persaepe ad Deum est supplex atque humilis Apostolorum flagitatio, *adauge nobis fidem.**

Verum in hoc eodem genere, quod fidem christianam attingit, alia sunt officia, quae observari accurate religioseque si salutis semper interfuit, hac tempestate nostra interest maxime.—Nimirum in hac, quam diximus, tanta ac tam late fusa opinionum insania, profecto patrociniū suscipere veritatis, erroresque ex animis evellere, Ecclesiae munus est, idque omni tempore sancteque servandum, quia honor Dei, ac salus hominum in eius sunt tutela. At vero, cum necessitas cogit, incolumitatem fidei tueri non ii solum debent qui praesunt, sed *quilibet tenetur fidem suam aliis propalare, vel ad instructionem aliorum fideliū sive confirmationem, vel ad reprimendum infidelium insultationem.*† Cedere hosti, vel vocem premere, cum tantus undique opprimendae veritati tollitur clamor, aut inertis hominis est, aut de iis, quae proficitur, utrum vera sint, dubitantis. Utrumque turpe, atque iniuriosum Deo: utrumque cum singulorum tum communi saluti repugnans: solis fidei inimicis fructuosum, quia valde augeat remissior proborum opera audaciam improborum.—Eoque magis christianorum vituperanda segnities, quia falsa crimina dilui, opinionumque pravae confutari levi negotio, ut plurimum, possunt: maiore aliquo cum labore semper possunt. Ad extremum, nemo unus prohibetur eam adhibere ac prae se ferre fortitudinem, quae propria est christianorum: qua ipsa non raro animi adversariorum et consilia franguntur. Sunt praeterea christiani ad dimicationem nati: cuius quo maior est vis, eo certior, Deo opitulante, victoria. *Confidite: ego vici mundum.*‡ Neque est quod opponat quisquam, Ecclesiae conservatorem ac vindicem Iesum Christum nequaquam opera hominum indigere. Non enim inopia virium, sed magnitudine bonitatis vult ille ut aliquid a nobis conferatur operae ad salutis, quam ipse peperit, obtinendos adipiscendosque fructus.

Huiusce partes officii primae sunt, catholicam doctrinam profiteri aperte et constanter, eamque, quoad quisque potest, propagare. Nam, quod saepius est verissimeque dictum, christianae quidem sapientiae nihil tam obest, quam non esse cognitam. Valet enim per se ipsa ad depellendos errores probe percepta: quam si mens arripuerit simplex praeiudicatisque non adstricta opinionibus, assentiendum esse ratio pronuntiat. Nunc vero fidei virtus grande munus est gratiae bonitatisque divinae: res tamen ipsae, quibus adhibenda fides, non alio fere modo quam audiendo noscuntur. *Quomodo credent ei, quem non audierunt? Quomodo autem audient sine praedicante? . . . Ergo fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi.*§ Quoniam igitur fides est ad salutem necessaria, omnino praedicari verbum Christi consequitur oportere. Profecto praedicandi, hoc est docendi, munus iure divino

* Luc. xviii. 5.

† Jo. xvi. 33.

‡ S. Thom. 2. 2^{ae}, Quaest. iii., art. ii., ad 2.

§ Rom. x. 14, 17.

penes magistros est, quos *Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*,* maximeque penes Pontificem romanum, Iesu Christi vicarium, Ecclesiae universae summa cum potestate praepositum, credendorum, agendorum magistrum. Nihilominus nemo putet, industriam nonnullam eadem in re ponere privatos prohiberi, eos nominatim, quibus ingenii facultatem Deus cum studio bene merendi dedit: qui, quoties res exigit, commode possunt non sane doctoris sibi partes assumere, sed ea, quae ipsi acceperint imperitare ceteris, magistrorum voci resonantes tamquam imago. Quin imo privatorum opera visa est Patribus Concilii Vaticani usque adeo opportuna ac frugifera, ut prorsus deposcendam iudicarent. *Omnes christifideles, maxime vero eos, qui praesunt, vel docendi munere funguntur, per viscera Iesu Christi obtestamur, nec non eiusdem Dei et Salvatoris nostri auctoritate iubemus, ut ad hos errores a sancta Ecclesia arcendos et eliminandos, atque purissimae fidei lucem pandendam studium et operam conferant.*†—Ceterum serere fidem catholicam auctoritate exempli, professionisque constantia praedicare, quisque se posse ac debere meminerit.—In officiis igitur quae nos iungunt Deo atque Ecclesiae, hoc est numerandum maxime, ut in veritate christiana propaganda propulsandisque erroribus elaboret singulorum, quoad potest, industria.

Quibus tamen officiis non ita, ut oportet, cumulate et utiliter satisfacturi sunt, si alii seorsum ab aliis in certamen descenderint.—Futurum sane Iesus Christus significavit, ut quam ipse offensionem hominum invidiamque prior excepit, in eandem pari modo opus a se institutum incurreret; ita plane ut ad salutem pervenire, ipsius beneficio partam, multi reapse prohiberentur. Quare voluit non alumnos dumtaxat instituere disciplinae suae, sed hos ipsos societate coniungere, et in unum corpus, *quod est Ecclesia*,‡ cuius esset ipse caput, apte coagmentare. Permeat itaque vita Christi Iesu per totam compagem corporis, alit ac sustentat singula membra, eaque copulata tenet inter se et ad eundem composita finem, quamvis non eadem sit actio singulorum.§ His de caussis non modo perfecta societas Ecclesia est, et alia qualibet societate longe praestantior, sed hoc ei est inditum ab Auctore suo ut debeat pro salute generis humani contendere *ut castrorum acies ordinata*.

Ista rei christianae compositio conformatioque mutari nullo modo potest: nec magis vivere arbitrato suo cuiquam licet, aut eam, quae sibi libeat, decertandi rationem consecrari: propterea quod dissipat, non colligit, qui cum Ecclesia et Iesu Christo non colligit, verissimaeque contra Deum contendunt, quicumque non cum ipso Ecclesiaeque contendunt.¶

* Act. xx. 28.

† Const. *Dei Filius*, sub fin.

‡ Coloss. i. 24.

Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent: ita multi unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra.—Rom. xii. 4-5. ¶ Cantic. vi. 9.

¶ *Qui non est mecum, contra me est: et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit.*—Luc. xi. 23.

Ad hanc vero coniunctionem animorum similitudinemque agendi, inimicis catholici nominis non sine caussa formidolosam, primum omnium concordia est necessaria sententiarum: ad quam ipsam videmus Paulum Apostolum Corinthios cohortantem vehementi studio et singulari gravitate verborum: *Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut idipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in vobis schismata: sitis autem perfecti in eodem sensu et in eadem sententia.**—Cuius praecepti facile sapientia perspicitur. Est enim principium agendi mens: ideoque nec congruere voluntates, nec similes esse actiones queunt, si mentes diversa opinentur. Qui solam rationem sequuntur ducem, vix in eis aut ne vix quidem una esse doctrina potest: est enim ars rerum cognoscendarum perdifficilis: mens vero et infirma est naturâ, et varietate distrahitur opinionum, et impulsione rerum oblata extrinsecus non raro fallitur; accedunt cupiditates, quae veri videndi nimium saepe tollunt aut certe minuunt facultatem. Hac de caussa in moderandis civitatibus saepe datur opera ut coniuncti teneantur vi, quorum animi discordant.—Longe aliter christiani: quid credere oporteat, ab Ecclesia accipiunt, cuius auctoritate ductique se certo sciunt verum attingere. Propterea sicut una est Ecclesia, quia unus Iesus Christus, ita cunctorum toto orbe christianorum una est atque esse debet doctrina. *Unus Dominus, una fides.*† *Habentes autem eundem spiritum fidei,*‡ salutare principium obtinent, unde eadem in omnibus voluntas eademque in agendo ratio sponte gignuntur.

Sed, quod Paulus Apostolus iubet, unanimitem oportet esse perfectam.—Cum christiana fides non humanae, sed divinae rationis auctoritate nitatur, quae enim a Deo accepimus, *vera esse credimus non propter intrinsicam rerum veritatem naturali rationis lumine perspectam, sed propter auctoritatem ipsius Dei revelantis, qui nec falli nec fallere potest,*§ consequens est ut, quascumque res constet esse a Deo traditas, omnino excipere singulas pari similique assensu necesse sit: quarum rerum abnuere fidem uni huc ferme recidit, repudiare universas. Evertunt enim ipsum fundamentum fidei, qui aut elocutum hominibus Deum negent, aut de infinita eius veritate sapientiae dubitent.—Statuere vero quae sint doctrinae divinitus traditae, Ecclesiae docentis est, cui custodiam interpretationemque Deus eloquiorum suorum commisit. Summus autem est magister in Ecclesia Pontifex romanus. Concordia igitur animorum sicut perfectum in una fide consensum requirit, ita voluntates postulat Ecclesiae romanoque Pontifici perfecte subiectas atque obtemperantes, ut Deo.—Perfecta autem esse obedientia debet, quia ab ipsa fide praecipitur, et habet hoc commune cum fide, ut dividua esse non possit: imo vero si absoluta non fuerit et numeros omnes habens, obedientiae quidem simulacrum relinquitur, natura tollitur. Cuiusmodi perfectioni tantum christiana consuetudo tribuit, ut illa tamquam nota internoscendi catholicos et habita semper sit et

* 1 Corinth. i. 10.

† Ephes. iv. 5.

‡ 2 Corinth. iv. 13.

§ Conc. Vat. Constit. *Dei Filius*, cap. 3.

habeatur. Mire explicatur hic locus a Thoma Aquinate iis verbis: *Formale. . . . obiectum fidei est veritas prima secundum quod manifestatur in Scripturis sacris, et doctrina Ecclesiae, quae procedit ex veritate prima. Unde quicumque non inhaeret, sicut infallibili et divinae regulae, doctrinae Ecclesiae, quae procedit ex veritate prima in Scripturis sacris manifestata, ille non habet habitum fidei: sed ea, quae sunt fidei, alio modo tenet quam per fidem. . . . Manifestum est autem, quod ille, qui inhaeret doctrinis Ecclesiae tamquam infallibili regulae, omnibus assentit, quae Ecclesia docet, alioquin si de his, quae Ecclesia docet, quae vult, tenet, et quae non vult, non tenet, non iam inhaeret Ecclesiae doctrinae sicut infallibili regulae, sed propriae voluntati.* Una fides debet esse totius Ecclesia, secundum illud (1 Corinth. i.): Idipsum dicatis omnes et non sint in vobis schismata; quod servari non posses, nisi quaestio fidei exorta determinetur per eum, qui toti Ecclesiae praest, ut sic eius sententia a tota Ecclesia firmiter teneatur. Et ideo ad solam auctoritatem Summi Pontificis pertinet nova editio Symboli, sicut et omnia alia, quae pertinent ad totam Ecclesiam.†*

In constituendis obedientiae finibus, nemo arbitretur, sacrorum Pastorum maximeque romani Pontificis auctoritati parendum in eo dumtaxat esse, quod ad dogmata pertinet, quorum repudiatio pertinax disiungi ab haereses flagitio non potest. Quin etiam neque satis est sincere et firmiter assentiri doctrinis, quae ab Ecclesia, etsi solemniter definitae iudicio, ordinario tamen et universali magisterio tamquam divinitus revelatae credendae proponuntur: quas *fide catholica et divina* credendas Concilium Vaticanum decrevit. Sed hoc est praeterea in officiis christianorum ponendum, ut potestate ductoque Episcoporum imprimisque Sedis Apostolicae regi se gubernarique patiantur. Quod quidem quam sit consentaneum, perfacile apparet. Nam quae divinis oraculis continentur, ea Deum partim attingunt, partim ipsum hominem itemque res ad sempiternam hominis salutem necessarias. Iamvero de utroque genere, nimirum et quid credere oporteat et quid agere, ab Ecclesia iure divino praecipitur, uti diximus, atque in Ecclesia a Pontifice maximo. Quamobrem iudicare posse Pontifex pro auctoritate debet quid eloquia divina contineant, quae cum eis doctrinae concordent, quae discrepent: eademque ratione ostendere quae honesta sint, quae turpia: quid agere, quid fugere, salutis adipiscendae causa, necesse sit: aliter enim nec eloquiorum Dei certus interpres, nec dux ad vivendum tutus ille esse homini posset.

Altius praeterea intrandum in Ecclesiae naturam: quippe quae non est christianorum, ut fors tulit, nexa communio, sed excellenti temperatione divinitus constituta societas, quae illuc recta proximeque spectat, ut pacem animis ac sanctitatem afferat: cumque res ad id necessarias divino munere sola possideat, certas habet leges, certa officia, atque in populis christianis moderandis rationem viamque sequitur naturae suae consentaneam.—Sed istiusmodi regiminis difficilis est et cum frequenti offensione cursus. Gentes enim Ecclesia regit per cunctos terrarum tractus disseminatas, genere differentes

* 2. 2^{ae}, Quaest. v., Art. iii.

* Ib. Quaest. i., Art. x.

moribusque, quas, cum in sua quaeque republica suis legibus vivant, civili simul ac sacrae potestati officium est subesse. Quae officia in eisdem personis coniuncta reperiuntur, non vero pugnantis, uti diximus, neque confusa, quia alterum genus ad prosperitatem pertinet civitatis, alterum ad commune Ecclesiae bonum, utrumque pariendae hominum perfectioni natum.

Qua posita iurium et officiorum terminatione, omnino liquet esse liberos ad res suas gerendas rectores civitatum: idque non modo non invitâ, sed plane adiuvante Ecclesia: quae quoniam maxime praecipit ut colatur pietas, quae est iustitia adversus Deum, hoc ipso ad iustitiam vocat erga principes. Verum longe nobiliore instituto potestas sacra eo spectat, ut regat hominum animos tuendo *regnum Dei et iustitiam eius*,* atque in hoc tota versatur. Dubitari vero salva fide non potest, istiusmodi regimen animorum Ecclesiae esse assignatum uni, nihil ut in eo sit politicae potestati loci: non enim Caesari, sed Petro claves regni caelorum Iesus Christus commendavit. —Cum hac de rebus politicis deque religiosis doctrina quaedam alia coniunguntur non exigui momenti, de quibus silere hoc loco nolumus.

Ab omni politico genere imperii distat christiana respublica plurimum. Quod si similitudinem habet conformationemque regni, profecto originem, causam, naturam mortalibus regnis habet longe discrepantem. —Ius est igitur, vivere Ecclesiam tuerique se consentaneis naturae suae institutis ac legibus. Eademque cum non modo societas perfecta sit, sed etiam humana quavis societate superior, sectari partium studia et mutabilibus rerum civilium flexibus servire iure officioque suo valde recusat. Similique ratione custos iuris sui, observantissima alieni, non ad se putat Ecclesia pertinere, quae maxime forma civitatis placeat, quibus institutis res christianarum gentium civilis geratur: ex variisque reipublicae generibus nullum non probat, dum religio morumque disciplina salva sit. —Ad hoc exemplum cogitationes actionesque dirigi singulorum christianorum oportet. Non dubium est, quin quaedam sit in genere politico honesta contentio, cum scilicet incolumi veritate iustitiae certatur, ut opiniones re usuque valeant, quae ad commune bonum prae ceteris conducibiles videantur. Sed Ecclesiam trahere ad partes, aut omnino adiutricem velle ad eos quibuscum contenditur, superandos, hominum est religione intemperanter abutentium. Ex adverso sancta atque inviolata apud omnes debet esse religio: imo in ipsa disciplina civitatum, quae a legibus morum officiisque religionis separari non potest, hoc est potissimum perpetuoque spectandum, quid maxime expediat christiano nomini: quod ipsum sicubi in periculo esse adversariorum operâ videatur, cessandum ab omni dissidio, et concordibus animis et consiliis propugnatio ac defensio suscipienda religionis, quod est commune bonum maximum, quo sunt omnia referenda. —Idque opus esse ducimus aliquanto exponere accuratius.

Profecto et Ecclesia et civitas suum habet utaque principatum: propterea in gerendis rebus suis neutra paret alteri, utique intra

* Matt. vi. 33.

terminos a proxima cuiusque caussa constitutos. Ex quo tamen nulla ratione disiunctas esse sequitur, multoque minus pugnantes.—Sane non tantum nobis ut essemus natura dedit, sed ut morati essemus. Quare a tranquillitate ordinis publici, quam proxime habet civilis coniunctio propositam, hoc petit homo, ut bene sibi esse liceat, ac multo magis ut satis praesidii ad perficiendos mores suppeditet: quae perfectio nusquam nisi in cognitione consistit atque exercitatione virtutis. Simul vero vult, id quod debet, adiumenta in Ecclesia reperire, quorum ope pietatis perfectae perfecto fungatur munere: quod in cognitione usuque positum est verae religionis, quae princeps est virtutum, propterea quod, revocando ad Deum, explet et cumulat universas.—In institutis igitur legibusque sancendis spectanda hominis indoles est moralis eadem ac religiosa, eiusdemque curanda perfectio, sed recte atque ordine: nec imperandum vetandumve quidquam nisi ratione habita quid civili hominum societati sit, quid religiosae propositum. Hac ipsa de caussa non potest Ecclesiae non interesse quales in civitatibus valeant leges, non quatenus ad rempublicam pertinent, sed quia fines debitos aliquando praetergressae in ius Ecclesiae invadunt. Quin imo resistere, si quando officiat religioni disciplina reipublicae, studioseque conari, ut in leges et instituta populorum virtus pervadat Evangelii, munus est Ecclesiae assignatum a Deo. Quoniamque fortuna reipublicae potissimum ex eorum pendet ingenio qui populo praesunt, idcirco Ecclesia patrocinium iis hominibus gratiamve praebere non potest, a quibus oppugnari sese intelligat, qui iura ipsius vereri aperte recusent, qui rem sacram remque civilem natura consociatas divellere contendant. Contra faultrix, uti debet, eorum est qui, cum de civili deque christiana republica quod sentire rectum est, ipsi sentiant, ambas in communi bono concordēs elaborare volunt.—His praeceptis norma continetur, quam in publica actione vitae catholicum quemque necesse est sequi. Nimirum, ubicumque in negotiis publicis versari per Ecclesiam licet, favendum viris est spectatae probitatis, eisdemque de christiano nomine meritis: neque caussa esse ulla potest cur male erga religionem animatos liceat anteponere.

Ex quo apparet quam sit magnum officium tueri consensum animorum, praesertim cum per hoc tempus tanta consiliorum calliditate christianum oppugnetur nomen. Quotquot diligenter studuerint Ecclesia adhaerescere, quae est *columna et firmamentum veritatis*,* facile cavebunt *magistros mendaces libertatem illis promittentes, cum ipsi servi sint corruptionis*†: quin imo ipsius Ecclesiae virtutis participes futuri, insidias sapientia vincent, vim fortitudine.—Non est huius loci exquirere, numquid, et quantum ad novas res contulerit opera segnior atque intestina discordia catholicorum: sed certe erant homines nequam minus habituri audaciae, nec tantas edituri ruinas, si robustior in plurimorum animis viguisset fides, quae *per caritatem operatur*,‡ neque tam late morum christianorum tradita nobis divinitus

* 1 Tim. iii. 15.

† 2 Pet. ii. 19.

‡ Gal. v. 6.

disciplina concidisset. Utinam praeteritae res hoc pariant, recordando, commodi, rectius sapere in posterum.

Verum ad negotia publica accessuris duo sunt magnopere vitia fugienda, quorum alterum prudentiae nomen usurpat, alterum in temeritate versatur.—Quidam enim potenti pollentique improbitati aperte resistere negant oportere, ne forte hostiles animos certamen exasperet. Isti quidem pro Ecclesia stent, an contra, incertum: quandoquidem profiteri se doctrinam catholicam affirmant, sed tamen vellent, certas ab ea discrepantes opiniones impune propagari posse Ecclesia sineret. Ferunt dolenter interitum fidei demutationemque morum: nihil tamen de remedio laborant, vel etiam nimia indulgentiâ aut pernicioosa quadam simulatione non raro malum augent. Idem de sua in apostolicam Sedem voluntate nemini volunt esse dubium: sed habent semper aliquid, quod pontifici succenseant. Istiusmodi hominum prudentia ex eo est genere, quod a Paulo Apostolo *sapientia carnis* et *mors* animi appellatur, quia nec subest legi divinae, nec potest subesse.* Nihil autem minus est ad mala minuenda providum. Inimicis enim, quod praedicare et in quo gloriari multi eorum non dubitant, hoc est omnino propositum, religionem catholicam, quae vera sola est, funditus, si fieri posset, extinguere. Tali autem consilio nihil non audent: sentiunt enim, quo magis fuerit aliorum tremefacta virtus, eo sibi expeditiorem fore malarum rerum facultatem. Itaque qui adamant *prudentiam carnis*, ac nescire se simulant, christianum quemque debere bonum militem Christi esse: qui debita victoribus praemia consequi mollissimâ viâ atque intacti a certamine volunt, ii tantum abest ut iter malorum intercipient, ut potius expediant.

Contra non pauci fallaci studio permoti, aut, quod magis esset vitio, aliud agentes, aliud simulantes, non suas sibi partes assumunt. Res in Ecclesia geri suo ipsorum iudicio atque arbitrato vellent usque eo, ut omne quod secus agitur, moleste ferant, aut repugnanter accipiant. Hi quidem inani contentione laborant, nihilo minus, quam alteri, reprehendendi. Hoc enim est non sequi potestatem legitimam, sed praevertere, simulque magistratuum munia ad privatos rapere, magna cum perturbatione ordinis, quem Deus in Ecclesia sua perpetuo servandum constituit, nec sinit a quoquam impune violari.—Illi optime, qui descendere in certamen, quotiescumque est opus, non recusant, hoc rato persuasoque, interituram vim iniustam, sanctitatisque iuris et religionis aliquando cessuram. Qui videntur sane dignum aliquid antiqua virtute suscipere, cum tueri religionem connituntur maxime adversus factionem audacissimam, christiano nomini exagitando natam, quae Pontificem maximum in suam redactum potestatem consecrari hostiliter non desistit: sed obedientiae studium diligenter retinent, nihil aggredi iniussu soliti. Iamvero quoniam similis obtemperandi voluntas, robusto animo constantiaeque coniuncta, christianis universis est necessaria, ut quoscumque casus tempus invexerit, *in nullo sint deficientes*,†

* *Sapientia carnis inimica est Deo: legi enim Dei non est subiecta; nec enim potest.*—Rom. viii. 6, 7.

† Iac. i. 4.

magnopere velimus in singulorum animis alte insidere eam, quam Paulus* *prudentiam spiritus* nominat. Haec enim in moderandis actionibus humanis sequitur optimam mediocritatis regulam, illud in homine efficiens, ne aut timide desperet propter ignaviam, aut nimis confidat propter temeritatem.—Est autem quod differat inter prudentiam politicam, quae ad bonam commune, et eam quae ad bonum cuiusque privatim pertinet. Haec enim cernitur in hominibus privatis, qui consilio rectaeque rationi obediunt in gubernatione sui: illa vero in praepositis, maximeque in principibus, quorum muneris est cum potestate praeesse: ita quidem ut politica privatorum prudentia in hoc videatur tota consistere, legitimae protestatis iussa fideliter exequi.† Haec dispositio atque hic ordo tanto magis valere in christiana republica debet, quanto Pontificis politica prudentia plura complectitur: eius enim est non solum regere Ecclesiam, sed generatim civium christianorum actiones ita ordinare, ut cum spe adipiscendae salutis aeternae apte congruant. Ex quo apparet, praeter summam sententiarum concordiam et secundum Pontificem romanum ad Episcopos pertinet: qui scilicet, quamquam pontificalis fastigium potestatis non attingunt, sunt tamen in ecclesiastica hierarchia veri principes; cumque singulas Ecclesias singuli administrent, sunt *quasi principales artifices* in aedificio spirituali,‡ atque habent munerum adiutores ac ministros consiliorum Clericos. Ad hanc Ecclesiae constitutionem, quam nemo mortalium mutare potest, actio est accommodanda vitae. Propterea quemadmodum Episcopis necessaria est cum Apostolica Sede in gerendo episcopatu coniunctio, ita clericos laicosque oportet cum Episcopis suis coniunctissime vivere, agere.—Ipsorum quidem Antistitem utique potest esse aliquid aut minus laudabile in moribus, aut in sentiis non probabile: sed nemo privatus arroget sibi personam iudicis, quam Christus Dominus illi imposuit uni, quem agnis atque ovibus praefecit. Memoria quisque teneat sapientissimam Gregorii magni sententiam: *Admonendi sunt subditi, ne praepositorum suorum vitam temere iudicent, si quid eos fortasse agere reprehensibiliter vident, ne unde mala recte redarguant, inde per elationis impulsu in profundiora mergantur. Admonendi sunt, ne cum culpas praepositorum considerant, contra eos audaciores fiant, sed sic, si qua valde sunt eorum prava, apud semetipsos*

* Rom. viii. 6.

† *Prudentia in ratione est; regere autem et gubernare proprie rationis est; et ideo unusquisque in quantum participat de regimine et gubernatione, intantum conveni sibi habere rationem et prudentiam. Manifestum est autem quod subditi, in quantum est subditi, et servi, in quantum est servus, non est regere et gubernare, sed magis regi et gubernari. Et ideo prudentia non est virtus servi, in quantum est servus, nec subditi, in quantum est subditi. Sed quia quilibet homo in quantum est rationalis, participat aliquid de regimine secundum arbitrium rationis, intantum convenit ei prudentiam habere. Unde manifestum est quod prudentia quidem in principe est ad modum artis architectonicae, ut dicitur in VI Ethicorum: in subditis autem ad modum artis manu operantis.—S. Thom. 2. 2^{ae}, xlvii., Art. xii.*

‡ S. Thom. Quodlib. Art. xiv.

*diuident, ut tamen divino timore constricti ferre sub eis iugum reverentiae non recusent. . . . Facta quippe praepositorum oris gladio ferienda non sunt, etiam cum recte reprehendenda iudicantur.**

Verumtamen parum sunt conata profutura, nisi ad virtutum christianarum disciplinam vita instituat. — Illa est sacrarum Litterarum de Iudaeorum genere sententia: *Usque dum non peccarent in conspectu Dei sui, erant cum illis bona: Deus enim illorum odit iniquitatem Cum recessissent a via, quam dederat illis Deus, ut ambularent in ea, exterminati praeliis a multis nationibus.*† Atqui inchoatam formam populi christiani gerebat Iudaeorum natio: atque in veteribus eorum casibus saepe imago inerat veritatis futurae: nisi quod longe maioribus beneficiis auxit nos atque ornavit divina benignitas, ob eamque rem ingrati animi crimen multo efficit christianorum graviora delicta.

Ecclesia quidem nullo tempore nulloque modo deseritur a Deo: quare nihil est, quod sibi ab hominum scelere metuat: at vero degenerantibus a christiana virtute nationibus non eadem potest esse securitas. *Miseros enim facit populos peccatum.*‡ — Cuius vim veritatemque sententiae si omnis retro experta est aetas, quid est causae quamobrem nostra non experiatur? Imo debitas iam instare poenas, permulta declarant, idemque status ipse confirmat civitatum; quarum plures videlicet intestinis malis attritas, nullam ab omni parte tutam videmus. Quod si improborum factiones institutum iter audacter perrexerint: si evenerit iis ut, quemadmodum grassantur malis artibus et peiore proposito, sic opibus potentiaeque invalescant, metuendum sane ne totas civitates a fundamentis, quae posuit natura, convellant. — Neque vero prohiberi tantae formidines sola hominum ope possunt, praesertim quia multitudo ingens, fide christiana reiecta, iustas superbiae poenas in hoc luit, quod veritatem obcaecata cupiditatis frustra conquirat, falsa pro veris amplexatur, sibi que videtur sapere cum vocat *malum bonum, et bonum malum, ponens tenebras lucem, et lucem tenebras.* § Igitur Deus intersit, ac benignitatis suae memor civilem hominum societatem respiciat necesse est. Quamobrem, quod vehementer alias hortati sumus, singulari studio constantiaque nitendum, ut clementia divina obsecratione humili exoretur, virtutesque, quibus efficitur vita christiana, revocentur. — Imprimis autem excitanda ac tuenda caritas est, quae praecipuum vitae christianae firmamentum continet, et sine qua, aut nullae omnino sunt, aut fructu vacuae virtutes. Idcirco beatus Paulus Colossenses adhortatus, ut vitium omne defugerent, variamque virtutum laudem consecrarentur, illud subiicit, *super omnia autem haec caritatem habete, quod est vinculum perfectionis.*|| Vere vinculum est perfectionis caritas, quia quos complexa est, cum Deo ipso intime coniungit, perficitque ut vitam animae hauriant a Deo, cum Deo agant, ad Deum referant. Debet vero caritas Dei cum caritate proximorum consociari, quia infinitam Dei bonitatem homines participant, eiusque gerunt in

* Reg. Pastor. p. iii., cap. iv.

‡ Prov. xiv. 34.

§ Isa. v. 20.

† Judith. v. 21, 22.

|| Coloss. iii. 14.

se expressam imaginem atque formam. *Hoc mandatum habemus a Deo, ut qui diligit Deum, diligat et fratrem suum.* Si quis dixerit, quoniam diligo Deum, et fratrem suum oderit, mendax est.†* Atque hoc de caritate mandatum divinus eius lator novum nominavit, non quod diligere homines inter se non aliqua iam lex, aut ipsa natura iussisset, sed quia christianum hoc diligendi plane novum erat atque in omni memoria inauditum genus. Qua enim caritate Iesus Christus et diligitur a Patre suo et homines ipse diligit, eandem impetravit alumni ac sectatoribus suis, ut cor unum et anima una esse in ipso possent, sicut ipse et Pater unum natura sunt. Huius vis praecepti nemo ignorat quam alte in christianorum pectus a principio descenderit, et quales quantosque concordiae, benevolentiae mutuae, pietatis, patientiae, fortitudinis fructus attulerit. Quidni opera detur exemplis maiorum imitandis? Tempora ipsa non exiguos admovent ad caritatem stimulus. Renovantibus impiis adversus Iesum Christum odia, instauranda christianis pietas est, magnarumque rerum effectrix renovanda caritas. Quiescant igitur, si qua sunt, dissidia: sileant certationes illae quidem, quae vires dimicantium dissipant, nec ullo modo religioni prosunt: colligatisque fide mentibus, caritate voluntatibus, in Dei atque hominum amore, ut aequum est, vita degatur.

Locus admonet hortari nominatim patresfamilias, ut his praeceptis et domos gubernare studeant, et liberos mature instituere. Initia reipublicae familia complectitur, magnamque partem alitur intra domesticos parietes fortuna civitatum. Idcirco qui has divellere ab institutis christianis volunt, consilia a stirpe exorsi, corrumpere societatem domesticam maturant. A quo eos scelere nec cogitatio deterret, id quidem nequaquam fieri sine summa parentum iniuria posse: naturam enim parentes habent ius suum instituendi, quos procrearint, hoc adiuncto officio, ut cum fine, cuius gratia sobolem Dei beneficio susceperunt, ipsa educatio conveniat et doctrina puerilis. Igitur parentibus est necessarium eniti et contendere, ut omnem in hoc genere propulsent iniuriam, omninoque pervincant ut sua in potestate sit educere liberos, uti par est, more christiano, maximeque prohibere scholis iis, a quibus periculum est ne malum venenum imbibant impietatis. Cum de fingenda probe adolescentia agitur, nulla opera potest nec labor suscipi tantus, quin etiam sint suscipienda maiora. In quo sane digni omnium admiratione sunt catholici ex variis gentibus complures, qui suas erudiendis pueris scholas magno sumptu, maiore constantia paravere. Aemulari salutare exemplum, ubicumque postulare videantur tempora, decet; sed positum sit imprimis, omnino in puerorum animis plurimum institutionem domesticam posse. Si adolescens aetas disciplinam vitae probam, virtutumque christianarum tamquam palaestram domi repererit, magnum praesidium habitura salus est civitatum.

Attigisse iam videmur, quas maxime res hoc tempore sequi, quas fugere catholici homines debeant.—Reliquum est, idque vestrarum est partium, Venerabiles Fratres, curare ut vox Nostra quacumque per-

* 1 Io. iv. 21.

† Ib. 20.

vadat, omnesque intelligant quanti referat ea, qua his litteris persecuti sumus, reipsa efficere. Horum officiorum non potest molesta et gravis esse custodia, quia iugum Iesu Christi suave est, et onus eius leve.—Si quid tamen difficilius factu videatur, dabitis auctoritate exemploque operam, ut acrius quisque intendat invictumque praestet a difficultatibus animum. Ostendite, quod saepius ipsi monuimus, in periculo esse praestantissima, ac summe expetenda bona: pro quorum conservatione omnes esse patibiles labores putandos; ipsisque laboribus tantam remunerationem fore, quantam christiane acta vita maximam parit. Alioqui propugnare pro Christo nolle, oppugnare est; ipse autem testatur,* negaturum se coram Patre suo in caelis, quotquot ipsum coram hominibus profiteri in terris recusarint.—Ad Nos quod attinet, vosque universos, numquam profecto, dum vita suppetat, commissuri sumus, ut auctoritas, consilium, opera Nostra quoquo modo in certamine desideretur. Neque est dubium, cum gregi, tum pastoribus singularem Dei opem, quoad debellatum erit, adfuturam.

Qua erecti fiducia, caelestium munus auspiciem, benevolentiaeque Nostrae tamquam pignus Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque universo, quibus singuli praeestis, Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die x Ianuarii An. MDCCCLXXX. Pontificatus Nostri duodecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

* Luc. ix. 26.

Science Notices.

The late Father Perry, S.J.—Called, in the midst of his labours, to leave them and “come up higher”—*ad majora avocatus*—this faithful minister of religion and servant of science has left, by a death congruous with his life, an inspiring example to all Christian students of nature. The son of a well-known manufacturer, Stephen Joseph Perry was born in London in 1833, and after some years of study at Douai and Rome, joined the English Province of the Society of Jesus, November 12, 1853. Recognition of his mathematical abilities followed in due time, and he was appointed in 1860 to the direction of the Stonyhurst Observatory. With his magnetic surveys of parts of France and Belgium in 1868–71, in conjunction with Father Sidgreaves (his present successor at Stonyhurst) and Mr. Carlisle, his public career may be said to have begun; but it was as the leader of astronomical transmarine expeditions that he attained celebrity. And deservedly, for self-devotion could scarcely be carried further than in his readiness to incur risks and sufferings, aggravated to an intense degree by his liability to the worst forms of sea-sickness. His first eclipse-journey was to Cadiz in 1870; in 1874 and 1882 respectively he was sent with Father Sidgreaves to Kerguelen Island and Madagascar, to observe the successive transits of Venus, from which so much was expected, and so little was really obtained. The hardships of the voyage to Kerguelen, appropriately named the “Land of Desolation,” were formidable, even to seamen, and the sojourn there was of unmitigated dreariness; yet it was deliberately protracted to five months by Father Perry’s gallant determination to work out the programme of the Astronomer Royal, even at the risk of semi-starvation, to the last of the required observations for longitude. Stationed at Carriacou, in the West Indies, for the solar eclipse of 1885, and at Pogost, on the Volga, for that of 1887, he was little favoured by the weather upon either occasion; but a similar final enterprise was in this respect more fortunate. At the Salut Islands, off Cayenne, on the morning of December 22 last, the sky cleared in time for the whole phenomenon of totality to be witnessed, nine good photographs of the corona being secured, a drawing from one of which, by Miss Violet Common, is published in the *Observatory* for March.

But the pestilential climate had already done its work on the heroic observer. Struggling with fatal illness, he still managed to be at his post when the critical moment came, and carried through the pre-arranged series of operations with all his wonted coolness and alacrity. Then, asking Captain Atkinson, R.N., to call “three cheers for the most successful eclipse I have ever been engaged in,” he added, with unconscious pathos, “I can’t cheer, but I will wave

my helmet." A collapse immediately followed; he was carried on board the *Comus*, and the order was given to put to sea in the vain hope that fresher air might bring some alleviation of his sufferings. Their end indeed—the universal end—was not far off. On Friday, December 27, he was visibly sinking; and after giving his last scientific directions to his devoted assistant, Mr. Rooney, he made, in holy peace, his preparation for death, remaining absorbed in prayer while consciousness lasted. Nor would he take the champagne prescribed for him, so apprehensive was he of losing the mental self-command needed to enable him, as he said, "to die making acts of the love of God." At the last, however, as Father Strickland relates in touching words, his mind began to wander, "and thinking himself again in the supreme moment of the scientific mission which had so long filled his thoughts, he began to give his orders as during the short minutes of the eclipse." When all was over, his body, "dressed in his white vestments, as if going to the altar," was reverently carried up to the bridge, and then enclosed in a coffin, consigned for burial, a few days later, to his friend and former pupil, the Archbishop of Demerara.

Although a stranger to the little community on ship-board, "he was grieved for" (we again quote Father Strickland) "by many as a friend; for, by his kindness of manner, his urbanity, and his happy aptness of speech, he had gained the kindest goodwill of all those he came in contact with." Father Perry preached his last sermon in French to the miserable convicts of Salut Island on the Sunday preceding the eclipse; he was extremely popular as a scientific lecturer, and delivered an address as President of the Liverpool Astronomical Society shortly before quitting England for the last time. The value of the researches in solar physics carried on by him at Stonyhurst was universally acknowledged, and he had made arrangements for widening their scope by calling in the powerful aid of photography. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1874, and was, at the time of his death, a member of the Council of the Royal Astronomical Society.

The news of his loss was received with heartfelt sorrow throughout the astronomical world. "It is hard to believe," Mr. Turner writes in the *Observatory*, "that we shall not see his strong, kind, cheery face again, that we shall no longer be able to count on the hearty response of one ever-ready volunteer when there is a question of some difficult scientific enterprise. He has fallen in action; and we can claim for him all the laurels due to the soldier who pays for victory with his life, and dies bravely, cheerfully, nobly, at the moment of success. *Requiescat in pace!*"

Spectrographic Discoveries Among the Stars.—"Spectrography," or the investigation, by photographic means, of the spectra of the heavenly bodies, is gradually assuming the proportions of a new branch of science. It has a twofold aim, physical and dynamical. On the one hand, it inquires into the constitution, on the other, into the movements, of remote luminous masses. Its powers, in the

latter respect, depend entirely upon the curious effect of motion "in the line of sight," in shifting from their normal places spectral rays otherwise fixed and invariable. The refrangibility of the rays is, in fact, altered by the crowding together, or spreading out, of the waves of light, according as the body emitting them is approaching towards or receding from the spectator. The direction of change—upward or downward in the spectrum—gives then the direction of movement; the measured amount of change gives its rate. But, although the validity of this principle was demonstrated by Dr. Huggins in 1868, results of satisfactory accuracy founded upon it have only been obtained from the stars since Dr. Vogel turned the developed faculties of the camera to account for securing them.

The solution, by this means, of the singular problem set by the variability of Algol, the "demon-star" in Perseus, is a veritable triumph of modern methods. The object in question loses and regains three-fifths of its light by rapid phases, recurring with unflinching regularity every two days and nearly twenty-one hours, as if through the interposition of a large dark satellite. The question whether this is so or not is evidently one capable of being answered by "line of sight" determinations. For movement is never all on one side, and Algol must revolve round its companion no less than the companion round Algol, or rather, both must revolve in the same period round their common centre of gravity. But, in this case, alternate shiftings to and fro of lines in the spectrum of the bright star might be expected to become apparent, corresponding to its alternate advance towards and withdrawal from the earth at opposite sides of its orbit. The anticipation has been verified by the Potsdam photographs. At definite intervals before and after each obscuration Algol is found to be rushing first away from, then towards us with a velocity of twenty-seven miles a second. Thus the conjecture that the luminous fluctuations of this star result from genuine eclipses, put forward by Goodricke, their first investigator, more than a century ago, has at length been fully confirmed.

On the somewhat hazardous assumption of an identical mean density for the dark and the bright bodies so strangely coupled, Dr. Vogel has calculated the dimensions and mass of the system formed by them. He finds the distance between their centres to be six-and-a-half million miles, and the satellite to be as large as our sun, although containing only two-ninths as much matter. It is only, then, of one-fourth the solar density, and can scarcely be of other than a gaseous constitution. The same conclusion applies to Algol itself, the diameter attributed to which is one million miles, while its mass is less than half that of the sun, but double that of its companion, which accordingly travels twice as fast in an orbit twice as large.

Astronomers are acquainted with eight variable stars of the Algol type, and the eclipse explanation must obviously apply to all, if adopted for one. The systems thus presented to their consideration are, however, of a very extraordinary nature. They undeniably

exist; yet the closeness of their members, the contrast between the effulgence of one and the obscurity of the other, notwithstanding approximate equality in size, above all, the extreme tenuity that must, from the circumstances of their revolutions, be ascribed to these bodies, make a combination so anomalous that its reality could scarcely be credited were it less certainly proved.

The Harvard College photographic plates have similarly brought into notice associations of bright stars of such intimacy as to be quite beyond the reach of telescopic detection. The conjoined objects never *visibly* separate; the most powerful telescopes in the world can only show each as a single star. It is merely through the periodical doubling of the lines in their combined spectra that their real duplicity becomes manifest. For since the members of revolving systems are always, at any given instant, inevitably found at opposite sides of their orbits, it follows that when one is receding from the earth, its companion is advancing towards it, and *vice versa*. Obviously, then, their respective spectral lines must separate and come together again twice in the course of each revolution; so that photographs taken at certain definite epochs will display all the lines as double, while at intermediate times, when the movement takes a *cross-wise* direction, they will appear single. In this way it has been discovered that ζ Ursæ Majoris—the middle “horse” of the Plough—is one of two nearly equal suns, circulating in a period of fifty-two days at a distance about equal to that of Mars from the sun, the two together being equivalent in mass to at least forty of our suns! A still more remarkable combination has been detected in β Aurigæ. Here two lustrous bodies, each slightly exceeding the sun in attractive power, revolve only eight million miles apart in a period of four days. Completely new views as to the nature and conditions of binary systems are suggested by these revelations, equally singular in themselves, and in the unexampled manner by which they have been procured.

The Nebular Hypothesis.—Mr. Herbert Spencer has republished, with additions, an essay on the Nebular Hypothesis originally contributed by him to the *Westminster Review* for July 1858. The views contained in it, together with the fresh arguments by which he now supports them, are urged, it is needless to say, with conspicuous ability, and cannot be too carefully studied by those whose intellectual instinct prompts them to “look before and after,” rather than around them. Mr. Spencer, however, assumes the rôle of an advocate, not of an arbiter. He makes the most of his strong points, and emphasises (as he is justly entitled to do) his successful forecasts of later results—the inference of the intra-galactic position of the nebulae being a striking example. But he overlooks or undervalues objections, some of which, as M. Faye has shown, are absolutely fatal to the unmodified cosmogony of Laplace. The general views, nevertheless, finely expressed in the ensuing passage, are of a nature to obliterate the effect of minor disagreements. “It remains” (we are told at page 157) “only to point out that while the genesis of the

solar system, and of countless other systems like it, is thus rendered comprehensible, the ultimate mystery continues as great as ever. The problem of existence is not solved; it is simply removed further back. The Nebular Hypothesis throws no light on the origin of diffused matter; and diffused matter as much needs accounting for as concrete matter. The genesis of an atom is not easier to conceive than the genesis of a planet. Nay, indeed, so far from making the universe a less mystery than before, it makes it a greater mystery. Creation by manufacture is a much lower thing than creation by evolution. A man can put together a machine, but he cannot make a machine develop itself. That our harmonious universe once existed potentially as formless diffused matter, and has slowly grown into its present organized state, is a far more astonishing fact than would have been its formation after the artificial method vulgarly supposed. Those who hold it legitimate to argue from phenomena to noumena, may rightly contend that the Nebular Hypothesis implies a First Cause as much transcending 'the mechanical God of Paley,' as this does the fetish of the savage."

Projection Lightning Flashes.—At a recent meeting of the Royal Meteorological Society, a Fellow of the Society suggested a new class of Lightning Flashes—the "Projection" Flash. As was pointed out in a note in the April number (1889) of this REVIEW, the Royal Meteorological Society have been busy in classifying the forms of lightning flashes as depicted by the photographic plate. It is not, however, to photography that we owe the idea of the "Projection" Flash, but to the observation of the human eye supported by experiment. In the note above referred to, I pointed out that the photographs of lightning flashes did not reveal the angular zig-zag or forked forms, which are, without doubt, at times presented to the eye, and have so often been depicted by the artist. I then suggested that the zig-zag appearance might be due to an optical illusion. In the paper on "Projection" Flashes, recently read before the Royal Meteorological Society, the author stated his belief that the zig-zag is not a mere eye-sight illusion, but an optical reality; that it is not, however, the flash itself, but the optically projected image of the flash formed on clouds. The image is zig-zagged, because the clouds on which it is cast are often of the rocky cumulus type, so as to admit of an angular surface. The image of the flash takes the angles of the uneven surface. When an angular flash is spoken of, it is important to bear in mind that it does not refer to the irregularity of the line of light that a flash of lightning or the spark of an electric machine display; for this is well marked in many photographs, but only those long angles so often seen in the representation of the artist.

The experiment by which this theory is supported is exceedingly simple. A photograph of a flash of lightning is projected on to a model cumulus cloud. The type of lightning chosen for projection is that called stream lightning in the recent classification by the Thunderstorm Committee. It presents the appearance of a stream of

light without much irregularity in its course. When, however, the photograph is projected on to the model cloud, the stream of light is distorted and broken into sharp angles. It is, in fact, a zig-zag flash. The appearance of this distorted flash was compared at the meeting to the lightning flash in Wilson's picture, "Celadon and Amelia."

Those who are familiar with the science of optics might account for the projection of flashes on clouds in more ways than one, but at the meeting at which the paper was read one of the simplest ways in which it might occur was shown. An incandescent electric lamp flashed on and off was supposed to represent a flash of lightning, the reflection of which, simulating sheet lightning, was cast on the model cloud. It was shown that the sheet lightning can be transformed into "projection" lightning by the simple process of the presence of a second cloud with a small opening in it somewhere between the flash of lightning and the cumulus cloud. As is well known, when rays of light are made to pass through small apertures the image of the source of these rays is cast upon any receiving surface. To illustrate this, it was only necessary to provide a second model cloud with an opening in it. This was placed between the incandescent electric lamp and the cumulus cloud at such an angle as not to interfere with the view of the cumulus cloud. The image of the white hot filament of carbon inside the lamp was thrown upon the cumulus cloud—a distorted image, owing to the uneven surface. If another opening is made in the second cloud, there are two images of the white hot filament of carbon, and so in nature a multiplication of openings in the cloud will produce a corresponding number of images of the lightning flash. This, perhaps, may explain the forked appearance so often depicted.

In answer to this theory of the "projection" flash, one may conceive an objector saying that it is inconceivable how the zigzag type came to be generally regarded by painters as the only type, for the image would probably be not nearly so frequently seen as the flash itself. "Perhaps the fact that the image of the lightning flash would not have that intense and dazzling brilliancy of the flash itself may explain this. If any brilliant source of light, such as the electric arc light, is suddenly flashed upon the average human eye, it would not recognise the form of the source, but if its image were flashed upon a screen through a lens any eye could distinguish the image of the white-hot carbon points, and so the projection of the flash would lose the bewildering brilliancy and its distorted form would be impressed upon the mind. The diminution of brilliancy probably also explains that other objection that no photographic plate seems to have yet registered the zig-zagged 'Projection' flash."

Practical Vision Testing.—Colour Blindness.—The efficiency of the system by which the vision of railway and maritime officials is tested for a clear discernment of form and a true appreciation of colour is a question which concerns the safety of the travelling

public. Those who followed the remarks of Mr. Brudenell Carter, in his address on the subject recently delivered before the Society of Arts, must have felt their sense of security weakened when they heard it was the opinion of the eminent oculist that the methods now in vogue on the British railways for testing colour vision are not calculated to attain good results. It appears that any day we may be travelling in an express train piloted by an engine-driver who does not know red from green, even though he may have gone through a farcical examination.

Mr. Brudenell Carter's somewhat sweeping assertions have not been allowed to pass without hostile criticism. He has been attacked by an eminent scientist in the *Times*, but in the columns of the same journal he has not shrunk from maintaining his arguments.

As regards the power of any individual to see the shape or outline of an object, Mr. Brudenell Carter says the most accurate test is obtained by using groups of spots, each one of which is separated from its neighbour by intervals equal to its own diameter. Different persons would distinguish the names of spots at different distances, therefore it has been found necessary to establish a standard of vision which is expressive of average human capacity. The requirements of this standard are fulfilled when the spots of a certain group are correctly counted at a distance of 50 mètres, another group at 25 mètres, and another at 10 mètres. The painted types of regulated sizes, which are much used, are inferior to spots in Mr. Brudenell Carter's opinion, as they do not correspond with the anatomical structure of the eye—the hexagon-shaped nerve-fibre of the retinal mosaic. For the same reason, the dots used in the army are untrustworthy. Being square in shape their images easily transgress the hexagonal boundaries of a nerve-fibre. They are also separated by uncertain and too great distances, so that they are made more distinct than they should be.

Mr. Brudenell Carter gives an account of what he considers the best mechanical device for testing vision by groups of dots. A series of groups are placed in a circle near the margin of a revolving wheel. This is placed behind a disc with a marginal aperture of such dimensions as to show only one group at a time. The examinee is placed at a certain distance from the apparatus, and the disc revolved. As each group is in turn disclosed he should name the number of dots composing it, quickly and accurately. If he does this he has normal vision. If, on the other hand, the examinee makes mistakes, the business of the examiner is to ascertain his practical limit of inaccuracy by letting him approach the dots until he reaches a point where he is able to see correctly. By such a method the degree of acuteness of vision which he possesses can be stated in a fraction. It is for the railway authorities to decide how far a man may fall short of the normal, and yet be competent to serve them. Mr. Brudenell Carter asserts that the ophthalmic expert has another function to perform besides the decision of the degree of

faculty vision in a candidate. He should look into its cause, for it may be remediable by medical or surgical treatment, or even by glasses. Mr. Brudenell Carter, however, is not inclined to recommend this latter remedy; in fact, he thinks them inadmissible if good vision is required from a worker exposed to weather. He mentions a curious defect of vision called "astigmatism," which can be corrected by glasses, but which would be most dangerous left uncorrected. "Astigmatism" consists in the sight being not equally acute of lines in different directions. A man may be long-sighted for a vertical signal post, but he may be short-sighted for the horizontal arm. The spot test would, however, find him out. According to Mr. Brudenell Carter's statistics, as many as 4 per cent. of the males of this country are possessed of imperfect colour vision. On our railways and in our ships red and green lights are used for signals of safety and danger; therefore, before a man is allowed to fulfil a responsible position, he should be examined with a view of finding out his capabilities of distinguishing these colours. Mr. Brudenell Carter tells us that on many railways the worst possible test is employed. The examinee is shown the actual signals as they would be seen by him in working, and is asked to name their true colours. He maintains that the fact that the man may name them correctly is no guarantee that he sees them aright. Neither a red lamp nor a green lamp would be really invisible to him. The glasses of the lamps are never of a red or green so pure in tint as to exclude all other rays. The lamps will therefore be seen by him as of faint luminosity by virtue of rays other than red or green which the glasses transmit. From a natural quickness he may learn to distinguish between the degrees of luminosity, and may make right guesses. But in the case of a fog these faint luminous appearances might be so confused as to leave a man in utter doubt. It seems that the only test which commends itself to Mr. Brudenell Carter is the one with coloured wools originated by Professor Holmgren. In this system, as is well known, the person to be tested is made to match a skein of wool, of a particular colour, from a quantity of skeins of various colours laid out on a white cloth. Professor Silvanus Thompson objects to this process on the ground that red and green signals in practice are always seen in the dark, whereas this test is carried out in daylight. He thinks the examination test should be analogous to the actual test he will have to face. The eye, he says, is more sensitive in darkness than in daylight. His ideas as to a true test are that the person should be brought into a dark room in which one small candle is burning, and under this light the person should be required to select from a number of coloured glasses of the actual tints as those used for railway signals and lights at sea, those which are of the requisite colours. Mr. Brudenell Carter's objection to this theory is that the object of an examiner is to find out, not whether the vision of a candidate distinguishes red from green on a particular occasion, but whether he can be trusted to do so on every occasion and in all circumstances.

This can be accomplished in no better way than by the simple wool process.

Although Mr. Brudenell Carter disapproves of the system of testing in the first instance by coloured lights, he allows that the wool test may be desirably supplemented by a test of the former description when it is wanted to ascertain the degree of colour blindness present in any individual. Professor Holmgren employs an arrangement by which a shadow is illuminated by coloured lights. One of the best contrivances, in Mr. Brudenell Carter's opinion, is one that has been long in use on the Belgian State railways. It is a lantern before which glasses of different colours can be placed. In the front of the glass is a metal screen, with a central opening filled in with what is called the "Iris diaphragm," an arrangement by which the size of the opening can be increased or diminished. The examinee is told to look at the lantern, and call out "stop," or "go," as soon as he sees the requisite signals. The size of the "Iris diaphragm" can be regulated so as to represent a signal lamp at the furthest distance it would be seen, and is enlarged at such a rate as to represent the increasing velocity of a signal towards which an engine is running at the speed of 30 miles an hour. When the examinee speaks the operation is stopped, and the actual size of the opening measures the acuteness of his colour vision. This method of supplementing the original test might be useful if any degree of deficiency is allowed by the railway authorities. It is, however, Mr. Brudenell Carter's opinion that it would be safer to exclude all who run in any degree short of the normal colour sense. He thinks that, considering that defective colour vision affects only 4 per cent. of the male population, there is no hardship in rejecting the whole of them from the railway or marine service. Surely this opinion will be unhesitatingly endorsed by the travelling public.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Florida and its Features.—Intending emigrants to Florida will find valuable information in the account of that State given in the "Journal" of the Manchester Geographical Society (April-June, 1889). The peninsula, 500 miles long, to which the Spanish explorers gave the name of "The Flowery Land," is in some respects a singular formation. Its basis is coralline rock, and it resembles a great natural jetty, built into the ocean to enclose the landlocked basin of the Gulf of Mexico. The northern portion of the State is uninteresting, for it consists of leagues of pine forest growing in

columnar monotony, from a grey soil only partially veiled by thin wire grass. It belongs, in fact, to the region of sand which forms the eastern fringe of the continent, furnishing in the south some of its most characteristic products, such as the famous Sea Island cotton of Carolina. Neither is this tract unproductive in Florida, as it is the peculiar district of the "truck farms" for fruit and vegetable gardening on a large scale, which form an important item in the industry of the State. It is south of Jacksonville, whence the traveller generally pursues his journey by steamer up the long lacustrine chain of the St. John's River, that the orange belt proper, extending over two degrees of latitude, is entered. Here nature assumes a semi-tropical aspect, the woods in the low marsh lands are a dense growth of red bay, mahogany and magnolia, intermixed with palmetto and cabbage-palm; water-oak and cypress, draped with grey Spanish moss, grow to the river's edge, and the stream is covered with a web of broad-leaved aquatic vegetation. Multitudinous lakes of all sizes, from mere ponds to great inland seas, are the chief geographical features of this section, orange groves having now replaced the primeval pine forest of their setting, as a "lake-front" is a great desideratum of the planter. Here English colonisation becomes predominant, the settlers living in wooden bungalows, and cultivating twenty or forty acre farms.

Indian River Orange Belt.—The finest quality of the fruit, however, is grown in a district of smaller area, where one of the coralline reefs which fringe the coast of Florida encloses a narrow inlet, miscalled a river, over a hundred miles in length. The coralline belt separating it from the ocean varies in width from a furlong to five miles, while the lagoon is never less than one, or more than seven miles across. Its saline waters have a slight tide, but are of course perfectly smooth. The soil of the shores is formed of a conglomerate, called by the Spaniards *coquina*, formed of disintegrated coral and shells cemented by the action of the sea water. On the barrier, pine apple is successfully cultivated, and the cocoa-nut palm on its southern extremity. The western, or inland shore of the lagoon, for a breadth of about three miles, after which a region of wet prairie begins, produces an orange of the highest quality, cultivated by settlers whose homes are either on the bluffs edging the lagoon, or on the navigable streams flowing into it. Each farm has its landing-place, and sailing boats of every rig take the place of wheeled vehicles as means of locomotion, the river being the great highway. It also contributes delicacies to the settler's table, abounding in oysters, turtle, and varieties of fish.

Southern Florida.—South of the orange belt, begins a more flat and swampy region; which the writer terms the sugar belt, as the cane flourishes here, and rice is also successfully cultivated, two crops of the latter being, as in Japan, a possibility. Then comes an area of coarse pasturage, the zone of the great ranches of Florida, and the home of its cowboy, a variety of the western genus. A large export trade in beef is done with Cuba, although the meat is

anything but prime in quality, the cattle being allowed to roam wild over prairies and salt marshes, and only "rounded up" once a year for immediate export.

The extreme south of the peninsula is occupied by a region of cypress swamp, saw-grass marshes, and wooded islands, known as the Everglades. It is as little known to white men as the centre of Africa, but the Indians report a waterway across its diameter, navigable for small boats. This malaria-scourged jungle occupies an area of four million acres, covered with tangled vegetation and stagnant waters, the home of the alligator, and nursery of the mosquito. The Florida Keys, coral islands which fringe its coast and form its southern prolongation, are principally overgrown with mangrove, but some are utilised as forcing houses for fruit and vegetables, and for the production of cocoa-nuts and pine apples.

Climate of Florida.—The heat of the long summer of Florida, lasting from April to August, is tempered by a regular sea breeze, as well as by a daily thunderstorm between 2 and 5 P.M. The continuous rains come in the autumn months, September, October, and part of November, which are both disagreeable and unhealthy. Chills and fevers then prevail, as well as dengue fever, identified by many with influenza, as it has the same characteristic symptom, pains in the bones, which have obtained for it the soubriquet of the "breakbone" fever. The Florida winter is a thoroughly enjoyable season, dry, sufficiently cold to be bracing, and with a peculiar elasticity in the air that acts as a nerve tonic. It is consequently a favourite climate resort for northerners, who flock hither to the number of 70,000 to 80,000 every season. Insect pests are among the great plagues of Florida, and mosquitoes, sand-fleas, horse-flies, and gnats require to be kept out by such defences as netting curtains to beds and wire-gauze screens to doors and windows.

A French Explorer in Southern Ethiopia.—M. Borelli read before the French Geographical Society an account of recent explorations of the basin of the Omo in Southern Ethiopia, in a journey undertaken at his own cost, though with a scientific mission from the Department of Public Instruction. Starting from Tadjourah Bay with a caravan formed in the face of considerable difficulty, he had first to cross the desert and steppes scoured by a tribe of pillaging nomads, known as Afars or Danakil. In fifty-four days he reached Farré in the Shoa country, and thence proceeded to Ankobar, the former royal city, and Antoto, the present residence of King Menelik. This region is very mountainous, being reached by crossing the eastern slope of the chain which bounds the desert, while the vast table lands of the Gallas slope gradually down from it to the south. After a few months spent with King Menelik, the traveller made the journey to Harrar, which he was the first European to reach from Shoa, the route having been only recently opened by an expedition sent by the king of the latter. After returning to Shoa he pushed southward to explore the source of the Omo, passing through fertile, populous, and well cultivated districts, with an abundant water

supply, and a climate rendered temperate by the altitude, reaching sometimes to nearly 7000 feet. Some very high mountains were seen, one with its summit occupied by a vast crater-lake, and another, Mount Godjeb, exceeding 11,700 feet high, with its sides shrouded in dense bamboo forest. The month of September 1888 was spent with the King of Djimma, a fertile country with industrious inhabitants, whence he continued his journey southward, crossing the Omo, and ascertaining the existence of Lake Abbala, on which some doubt had been thrown. The country here is less populous and cultivated, and the currency changes from Maria Theresa dollars and lumps of salt to slaves, calves, and bars of iron. Eventually he succeeded in getting as far south as the sixth degree of latitude, and ascertained that the Omo does not run east, as had been asserted, to join the Juba, but after running two degrees to the westward, flows straight to the south, and empties itself into a large lake, without an outlet, nearly 200 miles long and called the Schambara or Basso-Narok. In attempting to enter the mysterious kingdom of Zingero, he allied himself with a powerful chief, making a party 1800 strong. They repulsed two attacks, and reached Mount Bor Gouda, where the natives offer up their human sacrifices. Here they were attacked by a strong body of horse, some of their own men betrayed them, and after many had been killed, and M. Borelli had been wounded, they were forced to retire, leaving some prisoners in the hands of the enemy, to be put to death by immersion in boiling water. M. Borelli returned to the coast by way of Harrar and Zeilah, after a journey rich in results both ethnographical and geographical.—(*Times*, Dec. 27, 1888.)

The Mineral Wealth of Mozambique.—The American Consul at Mozambique has published a report giving a glowing account of the mineral resources of the country, whose development, he says, has hitherto been checked by restrictive legislation. The result of a new code of mining regulations promulgated in 1887, is that all the old deposits of precious metals have been re-discovered. During that year 21 mines, 7 of coal, 10 of alluvial gold, 1 of gold quartz, 2 of diamonds, and 1 of silver were registered in Lourenço Marques. Gold has been discovered in the Kulumane Mountain, and not far from the Transvaal border, as well as in other places, while the diamond and coal deposits are principally in the Matollo territories. The policy of the adventurers is rather to establish relations with the native chiefs than with the Portuguese authorities, the latter having generally thwarted all attempts made through them by the Capetown mining companies. The new mining laws are nearly as liberal as those of the Transvaal.

Ascent of Mount Elburz.—The Russian papers contain an account of the ascent of the great Caucasian peak, by Baron Theodore d'Ungern Sternberg, a translation of which appears in the *Times* of January 3. The party, consisting of the Baron, M. Staritsky, a land surveyor, a Tyrolese guide named Franz Hofer, a servant, and four hunters of the country, started from Oronsby on August 9.

Their baggage, distributed pretty equally between them, consisted of a silk tent for eight people, weighing $27\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., a theodolite and other instruments, furs, coverings, and provisions. The last ch  let in the valley of Bakhshan was passed the following day, and thence, by an ascent of $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours, a height of 10,860 feet was reached at the limit of perpetual snow. A day was here spent in surveying, and their second camp was pitched little more than 1000 feet higher, at 11,977 feet above the sea. The night temperature here was not very low, the minimum registered being 6 degrees Centigrade. The scene is described as magnificent, the torrent roaring in the gorge over 4000 feet below, and the snowy volcanic crest of Elburz rearing against a blue-black sky. The chief danger in the subsequent ascent, from crevasses in the snow, was minimised on the present occasion by favourable weather, and the section where they are encountered was safely traversed. When near 16,000 feet, M. Staritsky broke down, and had to turn back, leaving the Baron and Hofer to make the final ascent alone. Their sufferings in the earlier stages were from heat and thirst, and in the latter from an icy wind which filled their noses and ears with frozen particles. A magnificent view of the Black Sea was the principal feature of the panorama, from which, however, Mount Ararat, supposed to be visible, was absent. The summit, 18,469 feet high, is formed by the west cone, on which the remains of two small craters were traced. Even in the short space of ten minutes passed on the peak, Baron Sternberg was slightly frost bitten.

The Oil Rivers.—The attention of Parliament will, according to a correspondent in the *Times* of February 7, soon be called to the question of the Oil Rivers, in connection with the report of Major MacDonald on the subject. The territory known by this name extends for 300 or 400 miles along the coast, from the boundary of the British colony of Lagos to the German colony of the Cameroons, comprising in its inland portion the densely populated region between the seaboard and the domain of the Royal Niger Company. It includes the whole network of swampy land and water forming the Niger delta with contiguous inlets, six main channels, the Old and New Calabar Rivers, the Bonny, the Brass, the Lua, and the Opobo, being numbered within this area. The English trading connection with the country dates from a hundred years back, but permanent settlement in it from only sixty years ago. Missionaries and traders, at first satisfied to live in hulks on the waterways, were gradually allowed to acquire land and build on shore, and the whole region was, in 1884, placed under British protection. The merchants in occupation resisted incorporation in the Niger Company, and preferred forming themselves into a separate trading society called the African Association, which is now about to seek a charter. This Company possesses on the coast thirty-five or forty principal factories, each with a large European staff, and most of them with two or three up-river stations, in connection with the markets of the interior. It has a registered capital of £2,000,000 sterling, with power to increase

it to £5,000,000, and the existing firms have assigned to it £450,000 worth of stock, plant, and ships, by valuation, demanding nothing for the goodwill. The total value of the Oil Rivers trade averaged, for the three years ending December 31, 1888, £1,800,000 per annum, of which more than £1,000,000 represented exports. These are principally palm kernels and palm oil, but the Company is making great exertions to add to these india-rubber, to instruct the natives in the preparation of which they have brought experts from other parts of Africa. Much of the trade is carried on with Hamburg, Rotterdam, and other continental ports, though the bulk of the articles imported are of English origin. Gin, brought in vast quantities from Hamburg, is an exception, and it is to be hoped that whatever form the reorganisation of the territory takes, some restriction will be placed on this nefarious trade.

The Aborigines of Australia.—Herr Lumholtz, sent to Australia by the University of Christiana in 1880, records an almost unique experience* in his account of perigrinations with the cannibal tribes of Northern Australia, whose actual life he shared for weeks and months together. They made no disguise of their man-eating propensities, but had small opportunities for their indulgence, only two natives having been devoured within his experience, while white men, even when killed, are despised as food, though Chinese are eaten greedily. The ordinary diet of the savages is almost exclusively vegetarian, fruits, roots, and the pounded kernels of some trees being their chief articles of food. Animals of all kinds, including grasshoppers, the larvæ of beetles, and the lowest parasites, are however devoured with avidity, and the softer bones and skin of larger creatures are considered edible. M. Lumholtz brought home specimens of four new mammals, the tree kangaroo, and three opossums, with a very large collection of birds and insects. His observations of some of the denizens of the bush are very interesting, and he describes among other singularities the bower-bird, so called from its habit of preparing retreats for recreation, decorated with leaves and glittering objects, and the brush-turkey, which hatches its eggs by artificial heat in mounds of decaying vegetable substances, each being used in common by several birds.

Matabeleland and the British Zambesia Company.—The *Times* of March 13 contains some interesting correspondence from Matabeleland, giving an account of the Imperial mission to its chief Lobengula, conveying a royal letter in which the incorporation of the British South African Company was announced to him, and his support requested for it. The mission, consisting of three officers and a private of the Royal Horse Guards, started from Kimberley on December 16 for its journey of 850 miles to Gubulwayo, accompanied by the writer. The first stage lay through British Bechuanaland to Palapye, the capital of Khama, the chief of the powerful Bamanwato tribe. This tract of 650 miles was traversed in 20 days, the

* "Among Cannibals." By Carl Lumholtz, M.A. London: Murray. 1889.

country passed through being sparsely populated and few kraals seen. The natives wander about during the summer season in search of vegetation for their cattle, and of the most favourable soil for raising crops of mealies and Kaffir corn. For the last 80 miles the coach had to be drawn by oxen, no horses or mules being procurable for the newly-established post-service, owing to the prevalence of the horse disease.

Khama's Capital.—Khama's capital, Palapye, reached on January 6, had been occupied but six months in substitution for Shoshong, from which it is 70 miles distant, the situation and water-supply being superior. The entire population, 20,000 strong, migrated *en masse*, carefully transporting the aged and infirm, a proceeding quite novel in South Africa, where they are generally left to shift for themselves. The town, which exclusive of outlying kraals, covers a space six miles long by two broad, occupies a fine position 4000 feet above the sea, and commanding a grand view of sloping veldt and wooded hills. The people are fairly well housed in circular huts of sun-dried bricks, each group surrounded by its own trees and gardens, as Khama would not allow fine trees to be cut down. This prince is the most enlightened native ruler in Africa. A sincere Christian, originally converted by the Wesleyan missionaries, he has no thought save the good of his people, and allows no strong liquor to be sold or made in his dominions, even the brewing of Kaffir beer being heavily punished. No traders are allowed within his borders, except the *employés* of the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, as he wishes to keep his country for his people. The Company's store does a brisk trade, the people selling their cattle to invest in European garments, clad in which they present a motley spectacle. The less opulent have to eke out their foreign garb with native skins, and the very poorest can afford but a scanty covering of the latter. Mealies and Kaffir corn are the only crops raised, though most semi-tropical products could be reared with culture. Khama has a fighting force 7000 to 8000 strong, with 300 mounted men.

Lobengula's Kraal.—A further journey of 90 miles across a fertile rolling country, as yet uninhabited, brought the party to Tati, where auriferous reefs, believed to be promising, are worked by the Tati Gold Mining Company. Thence three and a half days' hard trekking, over a very bad road, through deep spruits with nearly precipitous banks, landed them at Lobengula's capital, seven miles from which the royal kraal was situated. This potentate, who, the writer says, might be styled "The Waggon Chief of South Africa," was suffering from the gout, and seated consequently, not on his favourite throne, the waggon-box, but in a bath-chair in his cattle kraal, robed in a coloured blanket, with dirty flannels swathing his feet. "He has been [says the correspondent] a very powerful man, but is now extremely fat; his age is probably about fifty-five. His headdress consisted of an old naval cap, with a large blue ostrich feather round the peak. As he sat in the midst of dirt and

discomfort, skulls of slaughtered bullocks, and mangy dogs, he looked the picture of the African savage."

His greeting was friendly, and after the royal missive had been read, the presents, a handsome revolver and field glass, knives and blankets, were presented, the uniform of the Blues coming in for a large share of admiration. A feast, consisting of excellently steamed brisket of beef, eaten without knives, forks or plates, was served in the inner enclosure, where thick grass formed the carpet, and the repast concluded with the appearance of two beer girls, who presented on bended knees large pailfuls of the royal beverage, the brewing of which is their sole duty. Lobengula leads a nomad life travelling from one kraal to another, but never moving far from his capital. He rules over 200,000 square miles of country, believed to be among the most fertile in Africa, and known to be rich in the precious metals.

Impressions of Morocco.—Mr. Joseph Thomson described for the benefit of the Manchester Geographical Society ("Journal," April-June, 1889) his experiences in his recent journey through Morocco. Starting from Tangier on April 5, 1888, he landed at Casablanca, and with a friend, a servant, and a soldier-guide, continued his journey overland. A breezy grassy expanse, with only an occasional group of Arab huts to give an appearance of habitation, was first entered, while the floral display was what chiefly attracted attention.

The whole country [he said] seems a glorious natural flower garden. Nowhere, in field or conservatory, can anything more rich or profuse and withal so extensive be seen as the exhibition of flowers on these fertile undulating plains in spring. Poppy, marguerite, and marigold, with fifty other familiar and unfamiliar flowers vie in glory of bloom, producing exquisite kaleidoscopic combinations of rich colours on the greensward. Acres of bright yellow marigold contrast with the crimson-flushed poppy. More commonly they are intermingled and sprinkled with the added hues of white and pink and blue, revealing in their gorgeous and striking combinations the sources from which the Moorish artist in wool derives the ideas expressed in his brilliantly coloured carpets.

These flower-tracts alternated with bush, where arbutus, myrtle and palmetto grew side by side, but for 150 miles no full grown tree was seen, and no stream crossed, though the rich black loam bore in places splendid crops of grain. No running water, in fact, exists, and the uncertainty of the rainfall produces frequent famines. Mr. Thomson confirms everything that previous travellers have said as to the cruelty and corruption of the government, which seems to exist only for purposes of oppression. The city of Morocco was visited, but its general aspect proved disappointing, though gems of Moorish architecture were to be found among the dilapidated modern dwellings.

Mohammedanism among the Moors.—The fact that the most religious nation on the face of the earth is also the most immoral, was forced upon the traveller by his daily experience. "In no sect [he says] is faith so absolutely paramount, so unweakened by any

strain of scepticism, as among the Mohammedans of Morocco. Among no people are prayers so commonly heard or religious duties more rigidly attended." Yet, side by side with this ceremonial practice is found universal indulgence in the most degraded vices. "From the Sultan down to the loathsome, half-starved beggar, from the most learned to the most illiterate, from the man who enjoys the reputation of utmost sanctity to his openly infamous opposite, all are alike morally rotten. Punctilious performance of ceremonial duties, acknowledged acceptance of orthodox tenets, these are everything in Moorish religion. Moral conduct counts as next to nothing." While Mohammedanism has the power to raise a degraded people to a higher level of civilisation, it does so at the expense of their better tendencies, resulting in what the author calls "the dissociation of religion and morality, the petrification of the one, and the rapid decadence of the other." Christianity alone proves its divine origin, if in no other way, by its power of maintaining a moral standard.

Floods in the Mississippi Valley.—The rise of the Mississippi in the second week of March is memorable as the greatest on record. The river, which runs in its lower course for a thousand miles principally in an artificially raised bed banked up above the level of the surrounding country, overtopped or burst through its dykes, or levées as they are called, submerging great tracts of the adjoining lowlands. At Memphis, near the northern border of Arkansas, it formed a lake forty miles wide, nearly filling the basin of its tributary, the St. Francis, 4500 square miles in area. Above Vicksburg again, it breached the rampart for a space of 400 yards, and pouring through the gap in a roaring flood, ten feet deep, submerged to a distance of ten miles, the rich cotton plantations of Northern Louisiana. Its affluents were equally unruly, and the Arkansas, swollen by a tremendous freshet drawn from the melted snows of the giant peaks of Colorado, carried away 250 feet of embankment, flooding and islanding Arkansas City, twenty miles above the junction with the Mississippi. The farmers from the drowned out lands, drove their cattle to the mountains, and the citizens worked night and day at strengthening the levées with sandbags piled on by gangs of men in boats. The same work was carried on energetically at all threatened points, the contest resolving itself into a time race between man and the uncurbed element. The two great outlets described had, however, the effect of easing the strain on the banks lower down, and thus obviating further disasters. New Orleans, with the great quay frontage which concentrates its commercial life, saw itself indeed seriously threatened, the water rising half a foot higher than the highest previous flood level, and pouring over the levées into some of the low-lying streets. The damage done here was, however, comparatively trifling. The aggregate injury to property was, on the other hand, enormous, but was not accompanied, as in other inundations, by loss of life.

National Exhibition in Japan.—On April 1 was to be opened, according to the official programme, the third National Exhibition

in Japan. The two previous ones, held respectively in 1877 and 1881, were, however, on a comparatively small scale, while the present one, located in the beautiful grounds of Uyeno Park, near Tokio, in buildings covering about 8 acres, and erected at a cost of half a million of dollars, is the result of five years' preparation. The groves of flowering cherry trees, for which the park is famous, will be in full blossom at the end of April, and will be not the least attractive of the sights on view. The exhibition will mark the restoration of Japanese art to its old traditions, from which it had lamentably swerved of late years. The causes of its decadence were twofold: first, the overthrow of the feudal nobility, depriving the artistic artisans of the wealthy patrons by whom they were maintained in the leisured pursuit of art for art's sake; and secondly, the enormous demand for Japanese wares in the European markets, encouraging the unlimited production of what are known in western phraseology as "pot boilers." The reaction against these degrading tendencies in Japan itself dates from 1881, and the efforts since made by official and influential personages, have, to a great extent, been successful in restoring the national standards. The present show will be largely representative of native industry, as space for 160,000 exhibits had been applied for before the end of January, and specimens of the beautiful porcelain, lacquer, silk, brocade, embroidery, ivory carving, enamels, and painting, so characteristic of the country, will rejoice the lovers of art and bric-a-brac. More interesting still will be the collection of ancient art-objects, in which the choicest of the Imperial treasures, as well as those of private collectors, will have a place. The opening of a new and comfortable hotel in Tokio will, for the first time, enable foreigners to stay in the capital, instead of at Yokohama, 20 miles away.

Notes on Fobels.

The Bondman: a New Saga. By HALL CAINE. 3 vols. London : William Heinemann. 1890.

MR. HALL CAINE, in the "Deemster," showed that he could make romance out of the Isle of Man. The present tale is an attempt to do the same thing, but with Iceland brought in to assist. The time is about 1800; but the author ingenuously confesses that his characters are most of them of an older stamp than the beginning of the present century. The story is very full of moving incident, and very violent. There is an attempt made to invest most of the characters with the heroic stature of the period vaguely known as

the olden time. Two or three of them have the marvellous strength of the hero of "Lorna Doone;" their yellow hair, fair faces, unconventional clothes, and boiling passions take us back to the days of the Baresarks. This effect is evidently intended by Mr. Caine, for when the strongest and most tempestuous of them all is about to die, he casually mentions these heroes, and admits that he is not unlike one of them—an idea that can only have come from his creator, for he had probably never heard of them himself. There is no religious tone about the book. The writer evidently wants us to think these Icelanders and Manxmen splendid fellows, with their reverence for ancient law, their magnanimity, their strong passions, and their utter heathenism. Christianity in 1800 must have died out of Iceland and the Isle of Man. We have a "good old" Bishop John, and one or two married parsons, but most of the parsons drink desperately, and the good ones are so decrepit that they hobble, shuffle, pant, and gasp throughout the three volumes, and never seem to influence any one, whether for good or for evil. In the Isle of Man there are two or three howling and ranting Methodists, full of all guile. The story is wild and improbable. An Iclander of tremendous size and strength has two sons, half-brothers, one of whom, for various reasons, vows to kill the other, and ends by laying down his life for him. In the working out of this *saga*, love, politics, revolution, and volcanic eruptions all take part. We have a good-hearted but terribly prosy old Governor; we have another Governor—in Iceland this time—who is the unredeemed villain of the story; we have six brothers, who always appear in the several situations all at once, as if they were a sort of body corporate; we have, it is needless to say, a lovely young woman, who is the sister of the six brothers and the object of the affections of both the half-brothers. Then we have Iceland in summer, Iceland in winter, Iceland at sunrise, at midnight, and between the two; the sea, the sulphur mines, the hot-springs, and a volcanic disturbance of the most appalling kind. There is plenty of interest in the story. It is written in a condensed and rapid style; yet not infrequently the writer uses too many words about the feelings and emotions of the different people; and the flight of Jason with Michael Sunlocks from the sulphur mines is far too long drawn out. With all drawbacks, however, it is a remarkable story, and will amply reward the reader.

Lal. By LORIN LATHROP and ANNIE WAKEMAN. Bristol:
J. W. Arrowsmith.

THE story of a little maiden of ten, strangely orphaned, and still more strangely adopted, is here prettily told in a single volume. The almost simultaneous deaths of both her parents in a gambling saloon in San Francisco leaves her to the incongruous, though kindly, guardianship of a young man of one-and-twenty, the most charitable of the witnesses of the tragedy. With the assistance of his lady

friends, he fulfils his trust, and is rewarded by the passionate devotion of his little ward. The inevitable result follows when the close of her school-days finds her transformed into a lovely girl, and the guardian turns equally rapidly into the *fiancé*. The clumsy contrivance by which these happy prospects are marred and an interlude of misery interposed before their realisation, is a blot on the work, from its violation, not alone of ordinary probability, but of all consistency in the heroine's character. Interest in her fate almost comes to an end when she ceases to command either our sympathy or even our respect. More striking, perhaps, than the more romantic episodes of the story is its picture of the early days of San Francisco, and of the illegal, but beneficent, revolution of 1856, by which the self-constituted Vigilance Committee overthrew the confederacy of crime ruling the city under the forms of law. Equally vivid is the sketch of a later phase of the history of the Golden Gate of the Pacific, when gambling for mining shares was the universal passion of its population. The heroine is involved by her unworthy husband in a discreditable financial intrigue, in which his confidential knowledge of the working of the Crayon Mine is made use of on the Stock Exchange, and only his timely death in the drowning out of the mine by the conspirators releases her from a very dubious position.

The Pennycomequicks. By S. BARING-GOULD. London :
Spencer Blackett. 1889.

THE author of "John Herring" generally interweaves an element of the comic-grotesque into the tragedy of his main plot, and this jarring note is somewhat obtrusively struck in his present work. The scheming sister and her instant appropriation of the supposed dead man's shoes are an exaggerated satire on the self-interested tendencies of vulgar human nature. The description of the inundation in which Jeremiah disappears and is believed to be drowned, is the most powerful passage in the book, the interest of which is practically exhausted with the termination of this incident and its resulting complications. The fortunes of Salome, the particularly dull and commonplace heroine, do not stir the reader to anything approaching to sympathy, nor is the attachment between her and the cold-blooded egotist Philip sufficiently strong to make the quarrels and reconciliation of their married life seem worth noting. Both would have been to all intents and purposes equally happy apart, and it seems a work of supererogation to devote a third volume to bringing them together again. There is a running commentary of moralising by the author, which, if it does not help much to elucidate the characters, is at least more entertaining than any utterances put into their lips, as the dry humour with which the foibles of human nature are satirised in these asides to the reader degenerates into caricature in the action. The impecunious

swindler, with his devices for preying upon the avaricious greed of his fellows, is, however, an amusing character, with but a slight touch of exaggeration.

The New Prince Fortunatus. By WILLIAM BLACK. London : Sampson Low. 1890.

THE name of the fairy-tale hero of inexhaustible wealth is used on Mr. Black's title-page as a synonym for a popular tenor, Lionel Moore, who, as a singer in comic opera or operetta, takes the London world of fashion by storm. We have consequently a mixture of life behind the scenes, with which the author seems to have familiarised himself, and of the doings and sayings of the aristocratic circles to which the hero's voice and other attractions prove an *open sesame*. The lady amateur with her craze for notoriety and ambition to rank with professionals is good-humouredly satirised in the trio of noble sisters who enter the lists in painting, music, and literature respectively. Of course, the tenor's adoption into high life transports him duly to the Highlands, where deer-stalking and salmon-fishing are portrayed for us with the author's usual *verve* in expatiating on his favourite pastimes. The latter sport is rendered all the more interesting by the fact that it is a lady expert who handles the rod with such skill as to throw male competitors into the shade. We take exception, however, to the author's reading of female character in representing such a girl as he describes Honnor Cunyngham as admitting a young man to intimate and constant companionship without such a feeling as would have made it impossible for her to refuse his offer of marriage. The two other candidates for the fortunate singer's somewhat volatile affections are in his own walk of life, but the one who finally carries off the prize fails to inspire the reader with the interest intended, as her broken English and snatches of Neapolitan dialect form a grotesque medley. There is an amusing account of the fashionable game of "poker" at a fast club, where the weak-kneed hero indulges in a temporary lapse from virtue in the direction of gambling.

James Vraille. By JEFFERY C. JEFFERY. London : Allen & Co. 1890.

THE series of unmerited misfortunes for which the hero is marked out may have their counterpart in real life, but are a gloomy subject for fiction. James Vraille has one of those natures which, requiring the touch of genuine sympathy to develop their inner qualities, are apt to be misunderstood by the world at large. His misfortunes begin with his marriage to a selfish beauty, whose external attractions are but the mask of a heartless and shallow egotist. Military life in India rapidly develops the worse side of such a character, and the union, which only the husband's long-suffering

disposition had rendered outwardly harmonious, ends in total disruption. The blighted hero, thrown back on the society of his little boy for consolation, concentrates all his power of affection on the child; but even here Fate, when she seemed tired of persecuting him, has her crowning blow in reserve for him. The catastrophe which ruthlessly cuts down all the growing interests of a new life built up on the ruins of the old, might, we think, have been spared to the reader's sensibilities. The author has shown considerable power in portraying a noble, though unobtrusive, character, and giving it perfect consistency throughout. The book is pervaded by religious feeling, although written apparently in a spirit of hostility to Churches and dogmas. The Indian episodes, both military and social, are narrated with *verve* and seemingly intimate knowledge, while the minor personages are lively sketches of character. The devoted nurse, who more than fills the place of the heartless mother to the child, is, in particular, a striking picture of rugged fidelity; and Colonel Dare, with his brainless obstinacy and injustice, is doubtless equally true to nature as a type of a commanding officer of the old school.

A Hardy Norseman. By EDNA LYALL. London :
Hurst & Blackett. 1890.

THE popularity of Miss Lyall's books is an encouraging sign of the taste of the age, as they all inculcate the highest view of the aims and purposes of life. The present work is no exception, and the hardly learned lesson of patience and resignation under unmerited trials and misfortunes is enforced by the experiences of the hero. The latter is indeed the victim of an accumulation of disasters, beginning with a bitter lovedisillusion, continued in bankruptcy and well-nigh starvation, and culminating in a charge of theft supported by apparently overwhelming evidence. By these misfortunes he is led back to the faith he had lost, and emerges from their shadow ennobled and softened by the struggle. The scene of the story, after an opening act in Norway, lies mainly in England, whither the Norwegian household, consisting of the hero, Frithiof, and his two sisters, Sigrid and Swanhild, migrate after their reverse of fortune. The Norse character, with its joyous vitality and self-reliant pride, is distinctively realised in all three, and gives novelty and freshness to the family group. The English element in the story is, on the other hand, rather wanting in colour; and the Bonifaces, despite, or perhaps because of, their goodness and amiability, make but a faint impression on the reader's mind. Blanche, too, the treacherous coquette, who lures Fritniof to despair, is but a shadowy personage, and her misdeeds and her romance remain equally unreal. Carlo Donati, the Italian singer, is, if we remember rightly, the "Knight Errant" of the author's previous work, and is, in this an equally sympathetic figure, though but slightly connected with the main action of the story.

Kit and Kitty. By R. D. BLACKMORE. London :
Sampson Low. 1889.

THE droll coincidence of name between Mr. Blackmore's hero and heroine symbolises a sympathy of feeling which defies the most adverse conjunctions of circumstances. There is disparity of station to begin with, and, while in fiction or poetry we have often met the gardener's daughter whose charms attract admirers from a higher rank in life, it is here the gardener's nephew who wins the affection of a highly connected young lady. Parents and guardians will hardly think the example is one to be recommended for practice in real life, and there is still enough of aristocratic prejudice surviving among cultivated readers to make such a subject slightly repugnant. When this initial difficulty is conquered with surprising facility, the course of true love is still thwarted, both before and after marriage, by a pair of villains under the influence of motives which seem scarcely strong enough to account for their action. The machinery by which the catastrophe is brought about, and Kitty stolen from her bridegroom during the honeymoon, seems also slightly inadequate to the results, but Mr. Blackmore's gift of story-telling enables him to silence common-sense with a wave of his magician's wand. Poetic justice is amply wreaked in the end on all ill-doers in an accumulation of horrors, including a parricide, a suicide, a leper husband returned to claim his wife, and her collapse from the shock into paralysis and imbecility. The scene is laid on the Thames near Sunbury, but waterside doings have but a small place in the author's pages, and market gardening, of which he writes with the knowledge of an expert, is the background of all the more heroic doings of the tale.

Sir Charles Danvers. By the AUTHOR OF "THE DANVERS JEWELS."
London : Bentley. 1889.

THE power of writing a genuine love story is so rare at the present day that the tale of Sir Charles Danvers' wooing stands out on this ground from the mass of recent fiction. That mysterious and indefinable bond of personal sympathy overleaping all disparities and incongruities, which forms the sole basis of genuine and lasting attachments, has seldom been more completely portrayed than in the relations between the hero and heroine of this short tale. True to nature, too, is the light vein of badinage and trifling which masks in both the deeper emotions so thoroughly as to deceive the lady as to the reality of the feeling she has inspired. Hence the complications of the plot, which we will leave our readers the pleasure of disentangling for themselves. The ordinary situations are sketched with a light hand, and the touches of tragic intensity are reserved for the culminating points, yet the sense of earnestness is always present behind the playfulness of the style. Though we must confess to getting a little too much of the nursery in contemporary fiction, we

gladly make an exception in favour of "Molly," who is always delightful, because drawn without the least striving for effect. We have here none of the artificial pathos with which most authors think it necessary to invest their juveniles, but a perfectly natural, wholesome, and unsentimental child. The grown-up characters are equally life-like, though for the most part rather sketches than finished portraits, and both the dialogue and narrative sparkle with point and humour.

A Stage Romance. By LILITH ELLIS. London :
Rivington & Co. 1889.

A HEROINE whose actions are inexplicable by the ordinary motives of humanity is in this story landed in a series of the most heartrending complications entirely by her own superiority to the ordinary rules of conduct. Her fascinations, which seem to be of the Burne-Jones Rossetti, or, as Mr. Gilbert puts it, "the greenery yallery, Grosvenor Gallery" type, prove fatal to the great majority of the male characters, but the contest for her affections finally resolves itself into a rivalry between two of their number, Sir Gilbert Royal, a consumptive boy-baronet, and Arnold Rivers, a semi-amateur actor in the troupe of which the irresistible Evelyn Erle, under her acting name of Miss Le Strange, is manageress and leading lady. Having accepted the baronet from pique with the actor, she reverses her decision the moment the latter returns to his allegiance, but, from tenderness for the health of her *fiancé*, elects to keep him in the dark as to her change of intentions. While still in this ambiguous position she actually marries lover number 2, and has scarcely gone through the ceremony when she is summoned to the death-bed of lover number 1. Here she arrives in time to commit bigamy, still under the influence of the most "high-toned" feelings, by becoming the nominal wife of the dying man in order to gratify his last wish. This act of complaisance naturally draws down on her the anger of her veritable husband, who comes in pursuit of her, and casts her off as a punishment for her delinquency. An Ophelia-like ramble in damp woods combines with hereditary heart-disease to make an end of her, and her husband, three years after, on the eve of his marriage to another, shoots himself on her grave in a sudden relapse of constancy. Seldom have we seen a greater travesty of human nature presented to the reader as a picture of actual life.

The Splendid Spur. By Q. London : Cassell & Co. 1889.

WE have in this work a stirring tale of adventure during the English Civil War, which might well be a companion volume to Mr. Stevenson's "Black Arrow," and written by the same pen. The hero becomes entangled in the public events of the time rather acci-

dentially than spontaneously, and, though scarcely an active partisan of the Royalist cause, becomes the means of doing it an eminent service. This end is not, however, achieved without many hair-breadth escapes, flights, and combats, in the course of which the fugitive adventurer receives several severe wounds and comes within measurable distance of the gallows. The heroine, thrown by her misfortunes on his sole protection, is in scarcely less distressful plight, and, like many of the damosels errant of fiction, is reduced for a time to hide her charms under the disguise of a country bumpkin. Thus attired, she is the hero's staunch comrade in many of his wanderings, though betraying feminine weakness in an occasional swoon, which in real life would have been attended with more embarrassment than it seems to be in the story. It is of course the bounden duty of her companion to bestow his affections on her, but they seem at one point inclined to stray in the direction of a nut-brown maid yclept Joan, who has to be ruthlessly slain to get rid of the ensuing complication. The massacre of any number of his *dramatis personæ*, however, weighs lightly on "Q.'s" artistic conscience, and the supernumerary pieces on his chess-board are swept away wholesale as soon as their presence interferes with the exigencies of the plot. The narrative style throughout is easy and flowing, suggesting sufficiently that of the time chosen, without undue affectation of antiquarianism.

Lippincott's Monthly Magazine. January, February, March. London: Ward, Lock, & Co.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott. 1890.

EACH number of *Lippincott's* contains, as its chief and principal attraction, a complete story. In January it was "Millicent and Rosalind," by Julian Hawthorne; in February, "The Sign of the Four," by A. Conan Doyle; and in March, "Two Soldiers," by Captain Charles King. Mr. Hawthorne's story is a very simple one, about a young woman who had in her the germs of selfishness and luxury, and who nearly threw away an excellent young man, who was everything that could be desired, except that he was just then not so well off as he was sure some day to be. The dialogue is full of that earnest, spiritual, artistic charm with which Mr. Julian Hawthorne always speaks by the mouths of his characters. Perhaps there is too much fuss made about love. It has been the fashion with some novelists—among whom Anthony Trollope is the greatest sinner—to represent love as fate, as heaven, as necessity, as revelation, &c. &c.; to make love the young person's only business and last end, which, if she misses, all is lost, and if she secures, all is gained. This is bad teaching for the average young person, who has generally nothing more supernal to look for in her partner than the absence of repulsiveness and a very moderate promise of bread and butter. It ought to be made clear in a novel—if the novel is really moral—that Christian "Love" is grounded on prudence,

justice, fortitude, and temperance ; and that physical and even psychical attraction is as often to be dreaded as to be pursued. Mr. Conan Doyle's novelette is a tale of an Indian treasure, and bears traces of books that have already been written—such as "The Moonstone." It contains a wonderful detective, an Andaman islander, and a very good chase on the Thames. The weak point of the story is when the villain, being caught, relates in a style too much like Mr. Doyle's own, how "he came to" get hold of the treasure. As this occurs at the very end, when the Andaman islander has been shot, the box ("of Indian workmanship") found to be perfectly empty, and the preternatural detective again become more or less comatose, the result is not good art. Captain King's "Two Soldiers" is a fairly written narrative of a year or two in the careers of two officers of the United States army, in which the interest oscillates between New York smart society and frontier-fighting with Indians. The sixty page novelette is a trying form of composition, in which the ambitious writer has to make up his mind between elaborately drawn character and slight but pointed sketching. It is not every storyteller who has the gift of thus making up his mind, and Captain King does not seem to be one. The rest of the contents of this magazine are of the usual character. The illustrations—each story has a full-page one—are neither better nor worse than what we are accustomed to from America.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Paris, Octobre 1889 ;
Janvier 1890.

The State of France on the Eve of the Revolution.—Whatever the victors may think, history has reason to be thankful that the royalist party in France, though beaten, has not been exterminated. A cause that has no defenders has no real history. If we had no records but those of the Revolutionists we should see no redeeming features in the old monarchy. The wickedness and folly of king and nobles have been thoroughly brought to light. But is there nothing to be said in their favour? M. Marius Sepet has lately been contributing to this *Revue* a series of articles on the state of France at the outbreak of the Revolution. He writes in a calm, judicial spirit, readily acknowledging the terrible evils so widespread in 1789, but at the same time pointing to many excellences

which might have been turned to good account for the remedy of the evils. Readers of Burke's "Reflections" will remember the grand Ciceronian sentence in which he describes the state of the country in the reign of Louis XVI. (Works II., p. 402, Bohn's edition). M. Sepet's articles show that Burke's picture is not over-coloured. He maintains that the old system "well deserved to have its excellencies heightened, its faults corrected, and its capacities improved," and that this might have been accomplished without the horrors of Revolution. But as the writer tells us that he proposes to incorporate these articles in a volume, to be entitled "*Les Préliminaires de la Révolution*," it may be well to defer any criticism of them until the work appears.

An Internal Argument for the Authenticity of the Gospels.—The struggle that has so long been raging concerning the authenticity of the Gospels passes through a series of cycles. An argument is discovered which at first seems fatal to the orthodox cause. After a time it is closely examined and found to be at least inconclusive. By and by a further examination shows that it really tells in favour of the Gospels. The rationalists now look out for some fresh argument and the old round begins again. Such has been the history of the famous "internal argument." At first it seemed fatal; next it was shown to prove nothing against us; now it tells strongly in our favour. The Scripture scholar will not be surprised to find that the Abbé Vigouroux, the well-known Sulpician, has been actively engaged in turning this weapon upon those who forged it. He has readily consented to fight on ground chosen by the enemy. Philology is one of the most modern and positive of the sciences. The opponents of the Gospels will admit that it affords an admirable means of testing the time and place of the authorship of the Sacred writings. The powers of the liar and forger can now be shown to be limited. Their speech bewrayeth them. If the Gospels were written in the second century by men living in a Greek environment, their language would undoubtedly show signs of a Greek origin. On the other hand, if the language of the Gospels contains no such traces, but rather gives plain proof of having been written by Jews brought up among Jews, then the philological argument can be turned against rationalism. To go over the whole question in detail would be beyond the scope of an article; M. Vigouroux therefore selects some one branch—the philosophical language of the Gospels. In no respect were Hebrew and Greek so contrasted as in their attitude towards philosophy. The Semitic mind was more imaginative than ratiocinative. It was more concerned with phenomena than with causes. "The Jews ask for *signs*, the Greeks seek after *wisdom*" (1 Cor. i. 22). The language of the Old Testament contains few abstract terms and hardly any philosophical expressions. Psychological analysis was especially defective among the Hebrews. They had no proper name for the faculties of the soul; we should look in vain in the original of the Old Testament for terms designating consciousness, perception, reason as a distinct faculty, and even con-

science. Now, it is plain that the writers of the New Testament knew no other philosophical and psychological language than that of the Hebrews. The Abbé Vigouroux proves this most convincingly. Even the apparent objections against his view (occurring in St. Luke and St. Paul) are shown to strengthen his argument.

Another remarkable article in the October number is entitled "*L'Eglise et les Judaisants à l'âge Apostolique*," by the Abbé Thomas. It deals with the well-known difficulty of reconciling the two accounts of the dispute concerning the Mosaic Law (Acts xv., Gal. ii.).

Madame de Maintenon and Marie Antoinette almost monopolise the January number. M. Baudrillart, who writes about the former, holds that she was not the leader of any political party, but acted as a trusty intermediary between Louis XIV. and those who were in power in France and Spain. She had, indeed, great influence over the king, but to this she was entitled as his wife, and as a person of rare wisdom. This view of her position is supported by ample citations from contemporary documents.

Did Marie Antoinette receive the last sacraments during her imprisonment in the Conciergerie? If so, did she receive them from the Abbé Charles Magnin, afterwards Curé of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois? M. Victor Pierre answers both these questions in the affirmative. After his careful and exhaustive examination of the evidence, it is difficult to see how there can be any further doubt about the matter. He cites the declaration of the Abbé himself:

"I certify that in the month of October, 1793, I had the happiness of making my way into the Conciergerie with Mademoiselle Fouché, and that I several times heard there Queen Marie Antoinette's Confession, said Mass for her, and gave her Holy Communion."

This is plain enough. But, on the other hand, there is the testimony of M. Lafont d'Ausonne, who has written to show that no priest could possibly have gained entrance into the prison. This evidence is, however, merely negative. Besides, if the good faith of the two opposing writers be compared, there can be no hesitation in siding with Magnin, a priest of well-known probity, rather than with Lafont, who was an apostate. Marie Antoinette's last letter to her sister-in-law, Madame Elizabeth, seems at first sight to be in conflict with Magnin's testimony, but M. Pierre has no difficulty in harmonising the two accounts. Quite apart from the interest in the question at issue, his essay is worthy of perusal as an example of painstaking and unprejudiced criticism.

M. Paul Allard still continues his valuable studies in the history of the great persecutions.

L'Université Catholique. Nouvelle Série. Lyon. Octobre, Novembre, Decembre (1889). Février, Janvier (1890).

Chronology of St. Luke's Gospel.—In the October number we have a most interesting article entitled "*Synchronismes Histo-*

riques de l'Evangile de St. Luc," continued from the September number by M. Vigouroux. The learned writer shows, from monumental inscriptions, that both Strauss and Reuss were in error, and St. Luke was right regarding the time of the proconsulship of Quirinius in Syria. They had maintained that Quirinius was not consul of Syria at the time of Herod, as St. Luke asserts. M. Vigouroux shows that Quirinius was consul of Syria twice, once in the time of Herod, and again six years later, and thus St. Luke was guilty neither of an error nor of an anachronism. Again, St. Luke, in order to mark the mission of St. John the Baptist, and the beginning of the public life of our Lord, tells us that at this time "Lysanias was Tetrarch of Abilina" (St. Luke iii. 1). Referring to this Strauss has dared to write: "Luke makes a Lysanias, who had certainly been killed thirty years before the birth of Christ, reign thirty years after that birth; this is a small error of sixty years" ("New Life of Christ," vol. ii. pp. 20, 21). M. Vigouroux shows us that the infidel's sneer arises from his ignorance, and that he confounds two persons of the name of Lysanias. St. Luke is, after all, more correct than his critic.

St. Ennodius and the Papal Supremacy in the Sixth Century.—This interesting paper is a study on St. Ennodius's "Libellus Apologeticus pro Synodo," a work written by the saint in favour of the Fourth Council held at Rome under Pope Symmachus. From this "study" it comes out clearly that the absolute supremacy of the Roman Pontiff was held on the grounds of tradition, and was law in the whole of the West at the beginning of the sixth century. Of all St. Ennodius's works, his "Apology," on account of the circumstances under which it was written, the doctrine which he so clearly teaches on the Papal supremacy, and the light which is thrown on the history of the period, is by far the most interesting.

Victor Hugo, the Epic Poet.—This is a charming paper, in the November number, by M. Vaudon. Those who only know the Victor Hugo of his latter days, do not know Victor Hugo in his true grandeur, and such as he will be remembered among men of genius. He was once Christian, and sublime. When we read passages of true splendour from the "Légende des Siècles" we are startled by the genius of the man, and we can understand M. Vaudon's enthusiasm. Mr. Swinburne's rhapsodies on Victor Hugo only repel and create disgust in us. The man himself in his early and grandest works amazes and fascinates us.

There are other articles of interest in November; for example, "Le Centenaire de 1789," the continuation of "S. Ennodius et la Suprématie Pontificale au VI. Siècle," and "Le Clergé et la Question Sociale," by the Abbé Boudignon; and in the December number, "Vie et Pontificat de S. S. Léon XIII.," by Mgr. Hugues de Ragnan.

"Clovis et les Origines Politiques de la France," by Lecoy de la Marche; "Les Banqueroutes de l'Ancien Régime," and others.

Saint Avitus.—The January number opens with "Introduction

aux œuvres de St. Avit." The new edition of the works of "St. Avitus" is coming out under the care of M. U. Chevalier, one of the most erudite and laborious of living editors. Bossuet tells us that St. Avitus was "a powerful and eloquent defender of Christianity, and one of the greatest men of the sixth century." Unfortunately some of his works have been lost. Those which have come down to us are divided into three classes—first, his poems. These are of great merit, and have gained for their author the title of the Christian Virgil. His first three poems, "Creation," "Original Sin," and "The Judgment of God," form, as Guizot says, one whole, which may be properly called "Paradise Lost." The resemblance in the general conception and in the most important details between this and Milton's great work is very striking.

The second class is "Letters." These are imperfect, but what remain to us cast much light on the fifth and sixth centuries. The third class is "Homilies."

College Days of Leo XIII.—Mgr. Hugues de Ragnan continues in this number his interesting "Vic et Pontificat de S.S. Léon XIII." We are told of Joachim Pecci's brilliant career in the colleges of the Jesuits at Viterbo and Rome. One of his literary feats was to write, when he was only fourteen years old, 120 excellent Latin hexameters in six hours, without the help of any book, on Baltassar's Feast. Again, at the end of his "Philosophy," he maintained against all comers 200 theses on the complete course of Philosophy and Mathematics.

The February number gives us a translation of the encyclical "Sapientie Christianæ." M. Jacquard writes on "Charles Darwin." The article is more biographical than critical. We have also an interesting article by M. A. Devaux on Chanoine Chevalier's great work, "Repertorium Hymnologicum," and a continuation of "Victor Hugo, Le Poète Épique."

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

1. *Philosophisches Jahrbuch.* Herausgegeben von Dr. C. GUTBERLET, und Dr. J. POHLE, Professoren in Fulda. Fulda. 1888–89.

THIS periodical has been already noticed incidentally in a former number of the DUBLIN REVIEW; but we are anxious to recommend it more explicitly to our readers. It is edited, under the auspices of the Goerres Society, by two of the ablest professors of philosophy in Catholic Germany. The original articles deal with various points of metaphysics and psychology, and (by a happy innovation in Catholic journals of the kind) with the historical development of the human mind, theories of abstract politics, and the like. The reviews of recently published works are valuable, and there is a very complete abstract of current philosophical literature. The editors adhere loyally and closely to the lines laid down by Leo XIII.

for the guidance of Catholic philosophers, but it would be impossible for any opponent to bring against them the charge that they are ignorant of the latest developments of the subjects they treat

T. R. G.

2. *Katholik*.

With the January number this valuable periodical commences a new series after having for sixty-nine years rendered signal services to the cause of religion and science. The new number opens with a paper by Father Baeumer, a Benedictine of Maredsous, on the "Feast of the Nativity of Our Lord in the Ancient Liturgy of the Church," in which he traces the history of this feast, drawing largely on the works of the Fathers, and shows that the Eastern Church connected together the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany, and that it was Pope Liberius, who in 354 (or 355) first ordered the feast of the nativity to be kept on December 25. "The same Pontiff, to whom St. Ambrose gives the noble title 'vir sanctior et beatæ memoriæ,' erected the Basilica Liberiana as a place for the special veneration of Our Lady and the preservation of the holy crib of our Lord—which explains to us the ancient custom of the Pope celebrating Mass in St. Maria Maggiore on Christmas night." Dr. Hardy, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Freiburg (Baden), attended the Congress of Orientalists in Stockholm, and now contributes a suggestive paper on the learned deliberations of that body, taking the opportunity of urging on Catholics the necessity incumbent on them of promoting these studies, which in the hands of infidel scholars are being only too readily perverted into weapons of attack on Christianity, and he justly praises the zeal of the German Jesuits who, through the influence of Father Strassmaier, are doing their utmost in furthering Oriental studies. In the same number of the *Katholik* I endeavoured to sketch the history of the Irish University Question. There are also articles on the unity necessary in the Liturgy, and a discussion on the origin of the human soul—which has originated in a recent theory that apparently combines the systems of "Creatianismus" and "Generatianismus."

In the February number Professor Stöckl of Eichstätt contributes a paper on the fatal influence exercised by materialist philosophy on manners and law. Another article makes a very severe, but quite deserved, criticism on the unjustifiable pamphlet launched by the "Evangelische Bund" against the faith of German Catholics, and opposed by the splendid pastoral of the German Bishops in August 1889. I may also point out notices in this number on Walther's work, "German Bible Translations during the Middle Ages," and on the late Canon Sylvain's work, "Grégoire XVI. et son Pontificat."

3. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

In the January number we have, first, "Pictures from the Alps," by the late lamented Professor Hettinger of Würzburg University. Next, "Salimbene und seine Chronik," or "Salimbene de Adamo's Chronicle," which is the subject of a learned book by Father Michael, S.J., Professor of Theology at Innsbruck. He treats of the personal history of the Franciscan of Parma; the contents of his chronicle, which covers a period of 120 years (1167-1287), and finally his veracity. Then there is a lengthy study of the fourteenth volume of Onno Klopp's great work, "The Downfall of the Stuarts and the Succession of the House of Hanover." This concluding volume is devoted to the history of the years 1710-1714. We have next, from one of the most reliable authorities, two excellent articles on the late Professor Döllinger. These are followed by a thoughtful essay on Dom Mabillon and the Congregation at St. Maur; and by an article of my own on F. Bridgett's "True Story of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth," a work which, from its fairness, lucidity, and critical ability has excited considerable interest in Catholic Germany.

4. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

From the pen of Father Lehmkuhl we have a clever article on the "Strike, its Evils and Justification." Father Duhr continues his studies on the divorce of Napoleon I. He arrives at the conclusion that the civil marriage of the Emperor with Josephine Beauharnais must be considered valid, owing to the then prevailing impossibility of fulfilling the precepts of the Church. That the ceremony performed before Cardinal Fesch by Napoleon the night preceding the coronation was valueless, since Napoleon on that occasion gave only a feigned consent, and, last, that the sentence of the ecclesiastical tribunal of Paris annulling the Emperor's marriage goes against the most obvious rules of canon law, and therefore cannot claim any force. Father Granderash, in an article based on unpublished Roman documents, relating to the discussions of the Fathers and theologians of the Vatican Council, inquires into the meaning of that Council's Decree on Papal Infallibility. He clearly shows that the Fathers only declared the Pope's infallibility to extend just as far as the Church's infallibility, and that they abstained from entering on the question as to what topics are comprehended by it. The final volume of the "Collectio Conciliorum recentiorum Lacensis" is shortly to be published, and we look for it with eagerness, as it will contain the whole of the proceedings of the Vatican Council. From F. Granderash's paper, the important fact is to be gathered that the proposals of Cardinal Cullen, with small changes were finally adopted by the Council on July 18, 1870. F. Otto Pfülf traces the history of the veneration of St. Joseph and its development in the course of centuries: and F. Duhr, using the

despatches of the Imperial Count Stahremberg, gives us some interesting notices on the Court of Lisbon, and the first administration of Pombal.

5. *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck).

Father Paul V. Hoensbruch, S.J., in an article on the pseudo-Cyprianic tract "De Aleatoribus," considered as a witness to the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, arrives at a conclusion as to its authorship, different from that of other Catholic theologians in Germany. The writer of the tract he shows was Pope Victor I., and that it is one of the "alia quædam opuscula," which St. Jerome says Pope Victor wrote. He points out the strong testimony the tract is to the Papal claim of primacy, and in general, goes on the lines of Father Ryder's article in the DUBLIN REVIEW of July last, adopting and amplifying Harnack's opinions. We may also mention in this number of the *Zeitschrift* an article by Father Fans on "The Nature of Sin," and another by Father Arndt on the "Ancient Dioceses of Poland."

A. BELLESHEIM.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 15 Febraio, 1890.

Spiritism in a New Disguise.—The devil, we know, is a consummate ape, as well as the father of lies, and may be said, after his fashion, to bring out of his treasury of falsehood things new and old; old substantially, but new in their aspect and dress, to suit times and circumstances; witness the form of spiritism which his agents are now striving to bring into vogue. They are endeavouring, in short, to add to their evocations of the dead a smattering of Christian mysticism, and to accredit them thus as exercises of piety consonant to the sentiments of the Church. The Spiritist Reviews have, for some time past, been giving indications of this tendency, but no one has, perhaps, so strongly and openly set himself to the task of Christianising spiritism as Teofilo Coreni, in a book lately published by him at Turin, entitled "Spiritist Philosophy": "Spiritism in the Christian Sense." This work, the writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* considers as calculated to be perilous to readers not well grounded in Christian doctrine, or not firm in their faith; for the system it professes, while shrouded in the disguise of piety, is, in reality, profoundly evil and anti-Christian. We have here Satan transforming himself into an angel of light. Spiritism lays claim to being the work of God, and the coming age is to see Christian spiritism diffused over the face of the civilised world. When the Catholic Church shall no longer repel and anathematise, but welcome and associate itself with it, we are to attain the utmost possible

maximum of Truth, by the happy union of true heavenly science with true terrestrial science. Then shall earth hold communion with heaven, and heaven will sensibly descend with its spirits on earth. It will be a sort of spiritist millenium.

But does Coreni mean that the spiritist is to be baptised and made a Christian? Quite the reverse. Every Christian, and especially every priest is, in fact, invited to deny the faith and embrace the heretical dogma of spiritism; the works recommended are sufficient evidence of this evil purpose, and, in particular, that of Allan Kardec, a pseudonym, be it observed, whose symbol of spiritist doctrine, consisting of 34 articles, Coreni himself adopts. The writer in the *Civiltà* gives a general summary of this creed, which is utterly contradictory of Catholic faith. Suffice it to say that all created spirits are equal, simple and ignorant, knowing neither good nor evil, but God has imposed upon them the task of perfecting themselves in a series of metempsychoses, which having accomplished, they become pure angels, and are admitted to eternal blessedness. But, as there is no such thing as hell for the reprobate, all attain this end sooner or later. Between their different incarnations, they are allowed to appear to men. How is it, then, that Coreni, in so many passages of his work, seems to accept the Church's doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and here and there recognises the Divinity of the Redeemer, Holy Mass, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, Confession, the Papacy, the Sacerdotal Order, Christian Morality, and even admits Satan's existence. Here is the trap laid for the ignorant and unwary; instead of fiercely rejecting Catholic truths like other spiritists, Coreni would be content that the new religion should be mixed up with them, and that the clergy, while accepting the propositions of spiritism, opposed as they are to the faith and even to natural religion, should go on using the language of the Church and its existing external practices. If Coreni, then, permits the use of the Sacraments and Catholic observances to his adepts, it is only as a matter of surplus, in order not to scare good men.

Another dangerous snare prepared for the simple is his frequent assertion that the Church has always maintained relations with the world of spirits, and hence he concludes that to every faithful Christian it is lawful to evoke the spirits and consult them. Most fallacious conclusion; for the Church, although it invokes angels and saints, and prays for the departed, condemns the evocation of the dead, which constitutes the essential practice of spiritism and anathematises as sorcery and witchcraft all commerce with evil spirits.

And, in point of fact, the spiritists themselves confess that they are not always certain whom or what they have got hold of. Allan Kardec, the hierophant of spiritism, expressly says that hypocritical and lying spirits with a mask of piety may sometimes impose on them, while, on the other hand, quite a different sort will make their appearance, not at all hypocritical, but grossly impudent. These will utter turpitudes abhorrent to all modest ears; nay, as other

spiritists have related, even recommend them to their hearers, and behave themselves in an indecent manner. Coreni takes care not to allude to such unpleasant incidents, but his prophet and authority, Kardec, and other luminaries of the sect not only do so, but even advise their followers to use caution in this matter, lest they should fall under the power of some bad spirit, though what caution can avail them it is hard to imagine. Allan Kardec devotes a whole chapter to "Simple Obsession, Fascination, and Subjugation," where he exposes the terrible results to the spiritist of such a misfortune. He becomes mad, ridiculous, is forced to write, say, and do what he would least desire, and is persecuted night and day by the spirit who dominates him. The writer in the *Civiltà* had personal confirmation of this fact in what a young convert to Catholicism related as having happened to himself while yet a Protestant. Why does Signor Coreni say nothing of all these devilries? Why does he not tell his readers that the identity of the spirits answering to a call is "one of the most controverted points, and one of the greatest difficulties of practical spiritism?" So says Allan Kardec. By the confession, then, of the most eminent of the brotherhood, sometimes you may suppose you are conversing with a beloved relative or friend, and be, in fact, treating with an infernal spirit. For the *sometimes* substitute *always*, and you will have the precise truth. Coreni's book presents no danger for those who are well versed in Christian doctrine and philosophy, for it is a farago of vulgar errors, but to some who are sparsely provided in this respect, it may prove a trap, especially from the tint of mysticism which pervades it. Good Christians, moderately instructed in their Catechism will, however, be sufficiently guarded against the fallacies set before them. It needs no learning not to be led astray, for the right-minded will be convinced that spirits who lie, who utter blasphemous heresies, and even impurities, can neither be angels of God nor souls in purgatory; and if Coreni keeps these abominations in the background, his colleagues do not, and, indeed, he says quite enough himself to make any plain, honest Catholic recoil from the new Gospel offered to him.

The Influenza.—Under the head of "Natural Sciences" the *Civiltà Cattolica* has a notice of the influenza, and its opinion is that, notwithstanding all the study and talk of the medical faculty concerning this "mild pestilence," as it has been called, science has nothing to say with any certainty concerning either the nature of the disease, its mode of propagation, or the antidotes and remedies proper to adopt against its influence. Big phrases, it is true, are employed to cloak ignorance, and save the self-importance of these learned men, such as "that science has not yet clearly demonstrated the nature" of such a phenomenon, or "has not pronounced its last word on the subject," where a little modesty and plain speaking would have suggested the simple statement that "this is one of the many points concerning which the greatest masters may, indeed, form conjectures, but know nothing for certain." No; nothing

whatsoever. This age, with all its boasted knowledge, knows absolutely no more of this so-called influenza than was known of the cholera in recent times, or the plague in times more remote. These scourges came, did their work, and disappeared when it pleased God. One thing is certain—we have reason to thank God that this present scourge is comparatively mild. In Rome, for instance, where the cases have even been more numerous than is stated in the journals, one of the most eminent physicians asserted (this was early in February) that, having attended 1200 cases, in one alone did the epidemic prove fatal, and this was owing to the individual's own imprudence, in making a journey in bad weather when scarcely rid of the fever. As to the nature of the malady, which attacks various regions of the body, the general opinion is that it mainly affects the respiratory organs, but it needs no man of science to tell us this, since it is matter of daily experience. What the unscientific public would like to know is something of the origin of the malady, its nature, and the proper safeguards and remedies to be adopted; and here there is complete disappointment, plenty of discussion, but no results, for doctors differ. They cannot even arrive at agreement as to whether the disease is infectious, though there is certainly a preponderance of positive evidence in favour of its infectious character, and it must be remembered that in such cases negative evidence is obviously of little value. Neither can the hypothesis of contagiousness be ever absolutely removed unless common causes, such as atmospheric influences and the like, may sufficiently account for the diffusion of the malady. But this is not the case, for the epidemic has spread everywhere, defying all calculations which would make it dependent for its origin and propagation on mere climate and temperature, however much it may have been modified by them. Meanwhile our scientists have discovered the *bacillus* of the complaint. Modern science is very proud of its discovery of these microscopic microbes, credited with being the germ of the several diseases they accompany, and the vehicle of their communication, too easily, perhaps, as some doctors, little attended to, have suggested, since it is not clear that the disease may not furnish the *habitat* for a special microbe, instead of being itself caused by its presence. Be this as it may, the microbe of the influenza was detected at Vienna by Dr. Johl, and it is a veritable curiosity of its kind, quite unique, being said to possess more than one head, even two or three, a perfect little Cerberus. It is elliptical in form, yellow in colour, with two or three blue specks. It resembles the bacillus of *pneumonia*, and differs much from that of the cholera. All this may be extremely interesting to the scientific world, but, after all, is not very practical.

Another and a different mode of infection has been suggested by the above-mentioned doctors, which seems to have considerable probability in its favour. It is that of organic poison. It has been frequently proved that an atmosphere charged with the products of human expiration and perspiration is very deleterious to those who breathe it, whether man or beast. Now, supposing that a person

had sickened from some poisonous element which he has absorbed, he might easily convey his malady to others in his vicinity by the exhalations from his breath, and from the pores of his skin, and, where many are congregated together, such infection would be rapidly intercommunicated. The readiness with which many catch a common cold from others, and the great sensitiveness of some individuals in this respect, so far as the reviewer affirms from personal knowledge, as to be quickly aware of the presence in the room of any one suffering in this manner, offers an instance in point. It would certainly appear as if rapid infection could spread in this manner much more easily than by means of these living germs. But the microbes are the fashion with our scientists; they are a pet discovery; so other theories meet with little acceptance.

The Land Question in Ireland.—In this same number of the *Civiltà Cattolica* appears an excellent article on this question, a subject very imperfectly understood by many Italians; so much so, the reviewer says, that they often confound the agrarian with the political question, and look upon the poor Irish, struggling for their existence, with a suspicious eye, and are disposed to regard them as so many Socialists or Communists coveting the goods of others. They know that the English Government has passed some laws to alleviate the grievances of the tenant peasantry, and they suppose these have reason to rest satisfied with what has been done. To such persons the perusal of Archbishop Walsh's article, inserted, late in November 1888, in the *Contemporary Review*, pointing out the deficiencies in the remedies adopted, which was republished separately, and afterwards translated into French for distribution abroad, would be very serviceable. It has not only the authority of its author's name, but the sanction of the whole Irish Episcopate, accompanied by a fly-leaf explaining the reasons. A copy had been sent to the *Civiltà* for publication, and the reviewers felt they could not do better than give a summary of the contents of this document. These are clearly and concisely given, and they express the hope that readers will be convinced that, in spite of the good intentions of the British Government, the Land Laws of Ireland do not yet answer the needs of that people, whom the burdens of past times and a series of recent calamitous years have reduced to misery. Whoever has followed the course of events in Ireland will not fail to applaud the efforts of the Episcopate, as they themselves (the writers of the *Civiltà*) do, hoping to see them, thanks to the wisdom and patriotism of Parliament, crowned with a happy success.

Notices of Books.

A Manual of Catholic Theology. Based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik." By JOSEPH WILHELM, D.D., Ph.D., and THOMAS B. SCANNELL, B.D. With a Preface by the CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. Vol. I. The Sources of Theological Knowledge. God. Creation and the Supernatural Order. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1890.

THIS important book demands notice and description. Few of our readers, probably, are well acquainted with the "Dogmatik" of Dr. Joseph Scheeben, of the Archiepiscopal Seminary of Cologne, the first volume of which appeared in 1873, and the concluding one in 1882. Dr. Scheeben describes his great work as a "Compendium." In reality it consists of three volumes of nearly a thousand pages each, closely printed. It covers the whole of what is generally called "Dogmatic Theology."* It is intended to be a sort of exposition of the Dogmatic Constitution of the Vatican Council. Yet, long as it is, the author considers it to be a Compendium. "My design," he says, in the Preface to the first volume, "is to present a complete, clear and solid exposition of the whole matter of Dogmatic Theology, in concise and rigorously scientific form. . . . My book is a *Compendium*; I shall avoid long developments and minute research, and give a concise orderly exposition. Yet it is not a *Compendium* in the sense that it gives merely indispensable information in a merely tabular form. It will, on the contrary, endeavour as far as possible to set down the whole scientific matter of Catholic Dogma with those developments which it has received from Theology; dwelling more fully on those questions which are especially important for Christian life or for our own times" (Erster Band, Vorrede vi.). It is evident that if Dr. Scheeben's work is a Compendium, the present translation, or transcription, must be a Compendium in a much stricter sense. One of the German professor's pages would fill about two of the English edition. So that it would take nearly four volumes of the size of the one now issued (500 pp.) to reproduce Dr. Scheeben's first volume, and twelve to represent the three. The present volume covers about a volume and a half, and may therefore be said to present one-sixth of the German text. Whether it was worth while to reproduce such a writer as Scheeben on a scale of one in six, or even one in four, is a question

* There is an excellent French translation, by the Abbé P. Belet, in six volumes, published by Palmé, of Paris (1880).

which will be variously decided. The author's method is, as he intended it to be, concise, exact, and pregnant, without an unnecessary word. Half of the work consists of "developments" in a smaller text—that is to say, citations of Scripture, and word for word passages of the Fathers, with historical notices, corollaries, explanations, &c. As a matter of fact, the English translators—we use the word in a loose sense—have not acted on any uniform plan of omitting all the small print and boiling down the substantial text. They have considerably shortened the latter, but they have now and then inserted an idea or two out of the former, and printed all in the same type. The difficulty in condensing Scheeben like this, arises from the fact that if you allow Scheeben's exposition to be good and useful, you can hardly express it more shortly than Scheeben has done himself. You may omit some of the heads which he has treated; but you cannot, without spoiling the focus and blurring the outlines, cut out many of the author's most carefully chosen details. For example, we read in the English text:

The works of the last-named (St. Augustine) form a sort of encyclopædia of theological literature. The early schoolmen, such as Hugo of St. Victor, did little more than develop and systematise the material supplied by him. After a time the influence of the Greek Fathers began to be felt, especially in the doctrine of Grace, and hence, long afterwards, the Jansenists accused both the schoolmen and the Greek Fathers of having fallen into Pelagianism (Introduction, p. xx.).

This extract is made up of matter drawn from more pages than one, up and down the author, and it is a little difficult to trace. But in the original St. Augustine, instead of coming at the end of a list of Latin Fathers, comes before both Latins and Greeks, as the "most original and universal genius in speculative theology;" and he is not called an "encyclopædia," but "in him the whole Patristic development culminates." Then there is nothing whatever about the early schoolmen or Hugo of St. Victor; though, further on, the author states that Hugo "leans on" St. Augustine. What Scheeben here goes on to say is, that "the *later*" (not early) "scholastic development attached itself to St. Augustine, although in technique and method it rather went back to the Greek Fathers." There is nothing about "the doctrine of grace" or Pelagianism (Band i. 422).

The translators have a right to reply that they do not undertake to present Dr. Scheeben word for word, but only to abbreviate him; that they have changed his order and rearranged his matter, and taken other liberties with him, simply to make up a readable manual for English-speaking students. Such a plea is, it need not be said, perfectly good and justifiable. But the German professor is extremely difficult to rearrange. If he prides himself on anything it is on his "arrangement"; and those who have read him feel much the same. To take his words out of their context is something like pulling down a house and turning rafters into flooring, and doors into tables. The artistic fit is destroyed.

But it is possible to insist too strongly on this. What we have in this volume we may well be thankful for.

After a definition of Theology and a useful sketch of its history, divided into the Patristic, Scholastic, and Modern periods, the work begins with the "Sources of Theological Knowledge." In the course of 150 pp. are discussed "Revelation," "The Transmission of Revelation," "The Apostolic Deposit," "Tradition," "The Rule of Faith," and, lastly, "Faith" itself. The treatment of these heads, and indeed of all the subjects contained in the book, differs somewhat from that of the ordinary theological text-book. It is the way with the latter to lay down a formal proposition, and then to prove it, from Scripture, authority, reason, &c. But Dr. Scheeben's method is that of continuous development, carried on paragraph by paragraph. For example, take Section 4, "Mysteries" (p. 8). The first paragraph states that the subject-matter of Revelation is truth, but obscure and veiled truth—mystery. The second and third define "Mystery" more exactly. The fourth cites the Vatican Council as laying down the fact that there are "Mysteries" in the proper sense. The fifth gives the Scripture passages. The sixth shows that Christianity is essentially "mysterious"; mystery comes from the Fatherly love of God; its motive is the immense love of God the Son; its end is the Vision of God. The seventh paragraph states that Christian mysteries form a body, or mystical cosmos. As this paragraph is fairly characteristic of the author we will quote it:

The mysteries which are the subject-matter of Revelation are not merely a few isolated truths, but form a supernatural world, whose parts are as organically connected as those of the natural world—a mystical cosmos, the outcome of the "manifold wisdom of God" (Eph. iii. 10). In their origin they represent under various forms the communication of the Divine nature by the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Grace; in their final object they represent an order in which the Triunity appears as the ideal and end of a communion between God and His creatures, rendered possible through the God-Man, and accomplished by means of grace and glory (p. 11).

Nothing could be clearer and better than the first sentence of this extract. But when the writer says, "In their origin they represent under various forms the communications of the Divine nature," there is a feeling of grittiness, and we are somewhat repelled. The words in their obvious sense mean that the Christian mysteries "originally" represented, &c., but "now" they no longer do so (or some such modification). As this is not what is meant, the form of the sentence ought to have been, we submit, something like this: "The Christian mysteries represent the Divine communications, the Trinity, the Incarnation, Grace." The expression "in their origin" is only a superfluous and mystifying Germanism. To say that the Christian mysteries represent the communication of the Divinity, and to say that they "originate" in such a representation, are one and the same thing, and the latter form of expression adds nothing important, though it puzzles the reader by appearing to do so. Then

"under various forms" is superfluous; the indication of "variety" is sufficiently given in the sentence as we have written it. The writer goes on: "In their final object they represent," &c. It is crude, repellent, and un-English to say that the Christian mysteries "represent" anything whatever "in their final object." It means, as is evident, that they all have one final purpose—namely, to represent, &c. Still more Teutonic is it to say that "in their final object" they represent "an order," and "an order in which the Trinity appears as the ideal and the end of a communion between God and His creatures," &c. Let us rewrite the paragraph, from the second sentence:

The Christian mysteries represent the communication of the Divine nature; the Trinity, the Incarnation, Grace. Their object and purpose is communion between God and His creatures; that communion which directly aims at the Trinity itself, which is rendered possible through the God-Man, and accomplished by means of grace and glory.

There is an excellent chapter on the Transmission of Revelation, in which the Catholic theory, that there is and must be a means of transmitting revelation distinct from revelation itself and its written document, is stated with conciseness indeed (for the full treatment of the subject belongs to another part of the work), but with that scientific clearness in which the Germans excel. On the other hand, the doctrine of development might have been stated more clearly and completely. "The evolution of further and deeper views, the acquisition of a wider comprehension, and the deduction of fresh consequences from doctrines contained implicitly in the teaching of earlier times" (p. 107), is a description which sins at once by vagueness, tautology, and the vice of cross-division. The last sentence in the section—see Cardinal Newman's great work, "The Development of Christian Doctrine"—is perhaps the most useful sentence therein.

The great treatise on God occupies about 100 pages. With the exception that no proof of God's existence is developed, we have here all the usual matter contained in the "*Tractatus de Deo*." We will not say there is nothing debatable in a series of chapters which treat such subjects as the Divine Essence, and the Foreknowledge and Liberty of the Deity. But the reader will find patient explanation and much profound reasoning, with abundant citation of Holy Scripture. The chapter on the Divine Names is especially good. The Divine Attributes are considered in great detail.

The Trinity takes up another hundred pages. We do not know of any theological account of this sublimest of mysteries which is at once so complete and so intelligible as is here given. The Scriptural and Patristic treatment of the Dogma is especially full and useful. Very interesting also, and of great utility to the preacher, is the Section in which it is shown how the Dogma of the Trinity adds clearness and precision to our knowledge of a living and personal God, and throws light on God's supernatural works.

The rest of the volume is filled up by chapters on Creation, the Angels, the Material Universe, Man, and the Supernatural Order

Scheeben's treatment of Grace, as represented by his English editors, is original and suggestive. The divergence in language between the Eastern Fathers and St. Augustine on the subject of man's supernatural elevation is well explained. The author inclines to the terms and expressions of the Easterns. He takes great pains to prove and illustrate by Scripture the "adoption of sons"; he shows how this Scripture principle, logically worked out by the help of Scripture itself, leads to the true theory of vocation, merit, and grace. It might have been easier for the student if the usual scholastic terms, such as sanctifying grace, actual grace, merit, &c., had been more freely used. It is a little difficult to see in these pages the connection between the adopted sonship and the state of grace, between grace and charity, and between grace and the "participation of the Holy Ghost." But the theory that the supernatural is only relative—that God helps and elevates man, indeed, but not by making him a partaker of the Divine Nature—this error, which has been rife, even among Catholics, in our own times, and is not absolutely unknown in our own country, is splendidly confuted. The whole treatise on Grace demands study. It is calculated to disturb and even confuse the conceptions of those who have only read up Grace from the the pupil-teacher's point of view; it gives the outlines, and to some extent the details, of a highly finished philosophic theory.

The book, which is admirably printed in a clear, bold type, has few notes and no index. There is prefixed a table of contents. It will soon be in the hands of the theological teachers and students of the English-speaking world. They will find it a tolerable reproduction of Dr. Scheeben, so far as it pretends to be one, and, on its own merits, a very complete and scientific, even if somewhat tough, exposition of dogma. One of its results will be to let our students feel the peculiar tendency and character of German Catholic Theology. We take this to be a certain "rationalising" spirit (in a good sense) which objects to parrot-like repetitions of venerable catch-words, whilst studying dogma at first hand in Scripture, the Fathers and the Councils, always in a spirit of the deepest reverence. Whether the laity will take up the book, is a question not easily answered. There is no reason why they should not. There is nothing in its discussions which might not well be learnt by laymen. And not seldom they will come upon something both dogmatic and practical; as for example, the following sentence in the Section on the Guardian Angel:—"The communication of the dead with the living, *e.g.*, apparitions and death-warnings, are probably the work of Guardian Angels" (p. 504).

It must not be omitted that the Preface of four pages prefixed by His Eminence Cardinal Manning, is marked by his usual grace and depth of thought.

Blunders and Forgeries. Historical Essays. By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1890.

THE seven essays of which this entertaining volume is made up are reprints, with additions and amendments, from the DUBLIN REVIEW, the *Tablet*, the *Contemporary Review*, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, and the *Irish Monthly*. The first five are called "Blunders," the other two "Forgeries." Most of the people whom Father Bridgett takes to task are men who are really eminent in some way or other, and who, notwithstanding, by that common fate which seems to blind Protestants whenever they come across Catholicism, have blundered as badly as the editor of the *Record* himself. Dr. Shirley should have known better than to credit a priest of the time of Henry III. with "two wives," merely because the Bishop of Chichester's official reports "*habet duas uxores, ut dicitur*." The "wives," as Father Bridgett conclusively establishes, were two churches or cures; the good man was a pluralist. Dr. Lyon Playfair said at Glasgow in 1874 that "for a thousand years there was not a man or woman in Europe that ever took a bath." This is the text of the author's interesting essay on "The Sanctity of Dirt." "A Dozen Dogberryisms" is the title of a paper devoted to exposing the pompous fatuousness of Mr. Poole on the Coventry Miracle Plays, and the solemn puzzle-headedness of scholars like Mr. Thomas Wright and Mr. Kemble on Saints and Visions, and of Mr. Brewer on the sanctity of Idiots (!) "A Saint Transformed" is a useful criticism on Canon Perry's Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln. "Infamous Publications" relates to the strictures passed in 1872 by Mr. Gerald Fitzgibbon, an Irish Master in Chancery, on Father Furniss and Father Pinamonti. The two "Forgeries" are, first, "the Rood of Boxley;" and, secondly, a long and painstaking exposure of the lies and inventions of Robert Ware, an Irish Protestant of the time of Elizabeth, who is responsible for some of the toughest and longest-lived mendacities which have been cultivated even by the Protestant historians of the Reformation. This last treatise has not the unity and dramatic interest of some of the other contents of the book, but it should be read and pondered by every thinking Catholic—not to say every respectable Protestant—as a detailed explanation of the way in which history has been written. A good index adds to the value of the volume.

Convent Life: or, Duties of Sisters dedicated in Religion to the Service of God. Intended chiefly for Superiors and Confessors. By the Rev. ARTHUR DEVINE, Passionist. Second Edition. Dublin. 1890.

THIS is intended to be a somewhat popular exposition of the principles and laws which regulate the Religious State as it affects women. The first part treats of the obligations of Religious by reason of their state; the second, of the vows, and their

obligations; the third, of the principal duties of the religious state; and the fourth, of the election of Superiors, and of the duties of Superiors and other officials in the convent. The work is comprised within 320 pages, and is therefore of moderate size. It will be found to be more useful to Superiors than to Sisters in general. With these latter it might easily become the cause of much trouble and anxiety. Directors and others engaged in the government of communities of Sisters, or in instructing them, will find much that is useful and suggestive in "Convent Life." There are references; but the work would be improved by a larger number of them. It contains a good deal of moral theology; and therefore, needless to say, a fair amount of debatable matter. The term "nuns" is applied in a very wide sense, and is made by the author to include even Sisters of Charity, who are not even Religious in the strict sense of the word. The extracts from Father Dominic's writings, which are frequently quoted, are very interesting, and sometimes curious and amusing.

Old Catholic Maryland. By the Rev. W. P. TREACY. New Jersey.

THIS very interesting sketch of the early Jesuit Missionaries in Maryland is especially *à propos* at the present time when the hierarchy in the United States has just celebrated its centenary. All the romance of adventure attaches to the wanderings of these Pilgrim Fathers of Catholicism, who are at least as worthy to be remembered as their Puritan fellow-countrymen of the *Mayflower*. Nor was persecution wanting to set its seal on their labours, and we read how the Protestant settlers of Virginia harassed their Catholic neighbours, going so far as to send to England, in irons, two priests, Fathers Copley and White, seized within the borders of the adjoining colony. Very interesting are the relations between the first Catholic missionaries and the Indians, many of whom were converted thus early in the history of the settlement.

Reminiscences of the late Hon. and Right Rev. Alexander Macdonell.

By W. J. MACDONELL. Toronto: Williamson & Co. 1888.

THE early history of the Canadian Church enters into this brief sketch, as its subject was the first bishop of Upper Canada. Born in 1762, on the borders of Loch Ness, Inverness-shire, his first ministrations, after his ordination, were among the Catholic Highlanders settled in Glasgow, after the introduction of sheep-farming in the north had dispossessed the small farmers. Failure of industrial pursuits then driving his flock to enlist, he conceived the idea of forming them into a Catholic corps, the first since the Reformation, and thus was raised the Glengarry Regiment, to which

he was gazetted chaplain. They served in Ireland, in suppressing the rebellion of 1798; but being disbanded and reduced to great straits on the peace of 1802, Father Macdonell obtained for them grants of land in Upper Canada, accompanied them thither, and thus became the Patriarch, and afterwards the Bishop, of the settlement.

Commentarius in Ezechielem Prophetam. Auctore JOSEPHO KNABENBAUER, S.J. Paris: P. Lethielleux. London: Burns & Oates.

WE hail with pleasure another substantial volume of the "*Cursus S. Scripturæ*," which is being published by the German Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Father Knabenbauer is well known in connection with this series, as he has already brought out the volumes on the minor Prophets, on Isaias and Jeremias. Nor is there wanting in the present commentary any of that distinguished scholarship and extensive reading which was displayed in the previous volumes. The Commentary on Ezechiel is replete with learning. The earlier and later writers on Ezechiel are continually quoted with a view both to adding weight to opinions given and to elucidating difficulties in the text. The Hebrew and Greek text are examined and explained where this is necessary, and great assistance is given to the student by a series of plans and drawings, which are added in an appendix to throw light upon the very complex and difficult subject of the new temple.

In the notice to readers, Father Knabenbauer remarks: "*Cum quæstio pentateuchica hodie multum agitetur, etiam commentario aliqua erant inserenda quibus quæ ratio vere intercedat inter Pentateuchum et Ezechielem disputatur.*" This is a wise decision, and our only regret is that the learned commentator did not enter more fully than he has done into this important aspect of the question. Whatever view one holds as to the value of modern criticism in regard to the Old Testament, there can be no doubt that its teaching is to be met with everywhere, both in learned treatises and in popular reviews. It seems imperatively called for, therefore, that the attitude to be assumed by Catholics in regard to this question should be set forth, at least in advanced works on Holy Scripture.

Professor Kuenen, treating of the relation between the Prophet Ezechiel and the so-called Priestly Code in the Pentateuch, says, in his "*Hexateuch*":—

The points of contact between this Prophet and P' are so numerous and striking that K. H. Graf, and after him certain other scholars, have regarded Ezekiel himself as the author or redactor of the collection. But this is a mistake. The hypothesis gives no account of the difference that accompanies the resemblance, nor is the difficulty met by suggesting that some interval elapsed between Ezekiel's prophecies, especially xl.-xlviii., and the laws he drew up, either earlier or later. In as far as the agreement between Ezekiel and P' really requires an explanation, it may be found in

the supposition that P' was acquainted with the priest prophet, imitated him, and worked on in his spirit (p. 276).

The peculiarity of this view of the question is that it requires opposite propositions to be proved. In order to show that the author of the "priestly code" lived after Ezechiel and copied largely his language and his views, it has to be shown, as Kuenen undertakes to show, that "the similarity in style, vocabulary and phraseology is very remarkable." On the other hand, though "mutual independence is out of the question," it is proved that "this resemblance is accompanied by linguistic differences." This is all to show that though the author of the "priestly-code" and Ezechiel were not identical, still the former depended much upon the latter. It might also be suggested that, "in as far as the agreement between Ezechiel and P' really requires an explanation, it may be found in the supposition that "the priest prophet was acquainted with P' "imitated him and worked in his spirit." By merely reversing the position of "P'" and "priest prophet" in the extract from Kuenen, we arrive at a statement of the Catholic view. The Prophet, writing with a view to impressing on the Jews the Mosaic Law, has made a deep study of that law, is thoroughly imbued with the Mosaic spirit, and not unnaturally expresses himself to some extent in the Mosaic phraseology, though there are many and important differences in his style from that of the Pentateuch.

Father Knabenbauer's Commentary will be found to be of great value to the student, and we wish it a large sale and wide popularity. In sending this copy to us for review the French publisher expresses a wish that we would mention that it is (like other volumes of the *Cursus*) "en vente chez MM. Burns and Oates," which we are glad to do; knowing where one may actually find a French work is sometimes another inducement to get it.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Mit Benützung des päpstlichen Geheim-Archivs und vieler anderer Archive bearbeitet von Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR. Freiburg: Herder. 1889. [History of the Popes from the end of the Middle Ages].

THE first part of this splendid work was duly noticed in this REVIEW (July 1886), and has been honoured by a special letter of Leo XIII. A French translation of it has already made its appearance, and English and Italian versions are announced. What strikes one in this second volume is the amount of labour spent by Professor Pastor in ransacking the Roman and other Italian archives, as, for instance, those of Bologna, Siena, Florence, Venice, Milan, and still more particularly those of Mantua. To the Gonzaga archives, in the latter town, we are indebted for the most important despatches relating to the reign of Paul II. Although a zealous Catholic, our author never assumes the office of defender of the Popes in any of their acts; on the contrary, it is his deliberate

opinion that the historian ought never to allow himself to be led aside for apologetical purposes; what he should aim at is simply the investigation of the truth.

The present volume deals with the pontificates of Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV. At its commencement it teems with interesting details of the election of Enea Silvio Piccolomini; the characteristics, for example, of the cardinal electors, and the appeal delivered to them by Domenico de Domenichi to give the Church a supreme head, who would be fully conscious of his high position. Special prominence is given to the unwearied efforts of the Pope to check the Turks; the traditional policy of the Holy See, and in favourable contrast with that of the secular princes of the period. Next, we get an accurate picture of the position occupied by France towards the Holy See. To Pius II. Christendom was indebted for the abrogation of the Pragmatical Sanction. Four volumes of unpublished acts and letters relating to the embassies of Cardinal Bessarion were discovered by Professor Pastor in the Vatican archives, and have been duly employed in describing the labours of this learned Greek. Accurate details now first obtained from the "conto" of Pius II.'s private purse do the Pope credit for his frugality. To him succeeded Paul II.; and few Popes have been so maligned as Paul II., because of the measures he adopted for repressing currents of thought totally at variance with Christianity. Professor Pastor deserves to be congratulated on the immense work he has accomplished towards vindicating the memory of this Pope, the strenuous defender of the Faith against Platina and Pomponio Leto. Indeed, this part of his volume is a storehouse of unpublished despatches, letters and documents, valuable both for Church and secular history. The latter portion of the volume is devoted to Sixtus IV.: after Pastor's careful chapters on the conspiracy of the Pazzi's in Florence, no historian will be able to charge Sixtus IV. with having consented to slaughter and bloodshed. The volume also contains thoughtful chapters on the Spanish Inquisition, and the revival of painting and architecture; and, finally, I may note that no less than 148 unpublished manuscripts form the concluding portion of this volume. To praise further so learned and able a work would be superfluous.

A. BELLESHEIM.

Geschichte der katholischen Kirche im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert.—Zweiter Band. Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland, vom Abschluss der Concordate bis 1848. Von Dr. HEINRICH BRÜCK. Mainz: Kirkheim. 1889. (*History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century. Vol. II. The Church in Germany to 1848*).

THE first volume of this important work was noticed in this REVIEW, in July 1888. Already we have the second, covering the period from the opening by the German Governments, after the fall of Napoleon I., of Negotiations with the Holy See, down to the

celebrated Meeting of German Bishops in Würzburg in 1848. We must congratulate the author on his new volume; it is a work of great critical sagacity, erudition, and outspoken love for the Church and her liberty. It is impossible here to do more than sketch the merest outline of its contents. A glance at the vast array of modern German historical literature consulted by Professor Brück gives an idea of the mass of material bearing on his subject. We would call the student's attention more particularly to the papers of Prince Metternich, the biographies of Cardinals Geissel and Rauscher, the former Prelate's correspondence with the Nuncio in Munich, when Gregory transferred him from Speier to Cologne, the biography and letters of Ritter de Bunsen, the letters of Joseph von Goerres, and Bishop Laurent, and, last, the autobiography of the Prince Bishop of Breslau, Count Sedlnitzki, who apostatised from the Catholic faith. From this wealth of material our author draws a clear picture of the German Church from 1815 to 1848. The negotiations between the Governments of Prussia, Bavaria, and the United Courts of Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse, and Mecklenburg, on one side, and the Holy See, on the other, enable us to appreciate the unflinching courage and patience of Pius VII. and Cardinal Consalvi, in vindicating the rights of the Church and show the tendency of modern statesmen to shackle the liberty of Bishops in governing their dioceses. English Catholics will be interested in the negotiations between Hanover and Rome. The same George IV., who, up to 1829, utterly denied emancipation to his Catholic subjects, in his capacity as King of Hanover opened negotiations with the Holy See. Such important questions as mixed marriages, the heresies of Hermes and Guenther, the appointment of Professors of Theology, the Liberty of Chapters in electing Bishops, will be found here treated solidly and fully. And the Chapters which treat of Theological Learning are very important, as showing how the Decline of Theology was fatally influenced by modern anti-Christian philosophy, or kept down by the State. Professor Brück, whilst judging these things by the standard of Catholic doctrine, can excuse, however, as far as may be the authors themselves; they acted under the influence of their education, and were drifted by the general currents of thought.

BELLESHEIM.

The Light of Reason. By SEBASTIAN S. WYNELL-MAYHOW. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

THIS is a book which ought to do good. It is divided into two parts, under the following headings: 1. "The Existence of God;" 2. "Revelation." In the first part, the author gives four proofs of the existence of God, which he calls, respectively, the metaphysical, the ethical, the moral, and the physical. He does not claim any originality in respect of these proofs, but he has used what the greatest Christian thinkers have supplied ready to his hand. He has done more wisely than try to invent, he has selected what he

considered the best proofs of his theses, and placed them before us in a clear, cogent form. He tells us that he has himself felt the doubts and difficulties which are exercising many minds at the present day with regard to religion, and he has here put forward the arguments which had most effect in settling those difficulties in his own case. He has aimed at being, and has succeeded in being concise and clear. After enunciating each argument at length, giving objections in the same way, he repeats both arguments and objections in their bare syllogistic form. The idea is a good one, and helps the reader to see and retain the pith of the reasoning. Mr. Wynell-Mayhow might have gathered many other proofs of God's existence, as he is no doubt well aware, from the first part of St. Thomas's "Summa," and the "Summa Contra Gentes" (Lib. I., Cap. xiii.), but he feared that Agnostics would either be unable to appreciate them, or too slothful to attempt the task, so he wisely selected a few of the strongest proofs of this great truth, and such as are not difficult to understand. They are enough to convince an honest mind. We may be allowed to remark on the author's "note," at p. 19, that from the very laudatory way in which he speaks of F. Rosmini's Philosophy, one would fancy he is not aware of the forty, recently condemned Propositions. Then, again, at p. 25, there is a misleading note on *potentia*. The "*potentia*," referred to in the text, is clearly *potentia passiva*, and, in the note, he says that that which "is referred to in the text is defined the capability of anything existing, of either receiving or producing anything." It is evident that this definition goes too far; it defines also *potentia activa*, of which there is no question in the text.

The second part of his volume, "Revelation," is, Mr. Wynell-Mayhow rightly contends, the outcome of the first. "If God exists, He has revealed Himself, and, secondly, if He has revealed Himself at all, He can only have done so by means of an ecclesiastical polity, to which He himself must have guaranteed freedom from all error in faith and morals." Hence the author deduces the existence of the Catholic Church and the infallibility of the Pope. We must congratulate Mr. Wynell-Mayhow upon having put his reasoning here again in a telling way.

We have "Appendices" added on after the second part, on several important subjects, and we are obliged to say that this is the least satisfactory part of the book. We wonder, for instance, where our author has picked up his philosophy on "Physical Evil." He is clearly astray when he maintains that "liability to trouble and pain and suffering are the necessary concomitants of a physical material nature possessed of free will." If this were so, it would be true of Adam before the fall, and of the Blessed after the resurrection, which, of course, cannot be maintained. Mr. Mayhow amazes us when he maintains that "the idea of a limited being, not liable to physical evil, is an idea which is impossible and unthinkable."

Again, Mr. Mayhow thinks that, knowing the Trinity already, we can demonstrate its existence. On this point we would recommend

our author to read the first article of the 32nd question of St. Thomas's *Summa* (part 1), where, in his answer to the 2nd objection, he says that the Trinity cannot be proved; but, when once known, reasons for its existence can be given.

Apart from such faults, we welcome Mr. Wynell-Mayhow's work. It has decided merits, and we hope it will do good.

William George Ward and the Oxford Movement. By WILFRID WARD.
Second Edition. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

IT is with pleasure we note that within less than a year from the date of its publication, a second edition of Mr. Wilfrid Ward's interesting history of the first, and, in one sense, the most eventful period of his father's life, has been required. This now lies before us; and although, as a whole, the work of which we wrote fully in October 1889 remains unaltered, some additions have been made, and one addition specially, of ten pages in the concluding chapter, which may well be brought before the notice of our readers.

As was observed in our former article, not the least important part of Dr. Ward's biography is the chapter in which Mr. Wilfrid Ward estimates the effect of the Oxford Movement on modern religious thought; and it is this chapter which he has enlarged and amplified, by giving a more exact definition of the philosophy which was the intellectual means by which both Cardinal Newman and Dr. Ward were led into the Church. The whole chapter is valuable, not only as an able exposition of this philosophy, but also as showing how the leaders of the Oxford Movement anticipated, as well as answered beforehand, many of the difficulties propounded by the modern school of neology and unbelief. That their conclusions will satisfy those whose animus is anti-religious we cannot hope; for, after a careful study of Mr. Wilfrid Ward's effort at exhibiting the reasonableness of our Faith, we cannot, of course, point to any conclusion which can be said to assert the truth of the Christian revelation with absolute mathematical certainty. For "men of good will," however, enough can be proved, and so much was made evident in the first edition of Dr. Ward's life. In the second edition, Mr. Wilfrid Ward goes further and deeper, and shows us how the Oxford teachers, whilst admitting that there exist different and discordant voices, each calling us in a different direction, maintained that the Church offers "a retreat whence they would not be heard," or gives "such insight into the truth, that though heard and understood, they should not make the Christian unquiet."

The final development of the philosophy of the Oxford School, then, is the demonstration of "the office of the Church, in giving light to see the truth and guidance in moral action." On this last point, Newman, and perhaps still more Ward, insisted strenuously. Any argument or philosophy which was content to rest as an intellectual system, without reacting both on the will and on the action of man,

they held to be insufficient. Persuasive as may be the Church's doctrine, soul-subduing as is her ritual, and striking as has been the governing power by which for centuries she has controlled the waywardness of nations—none of these achievements affected Dr. Ward, as did the simple history of the many humble and half-hidden lives of the Church's saints. He truly held that such lives could never have been lived if divorced from the faith and doctrine on which they were founded; and in their pure beauty he saw conclusive arguments for the truth of the Faith, to which his intellect had already assented.

Of course, if such a view of the Church's office be the true one, it implies that the Church which claims our obedience must possess a living and a teaching voice; and one religious body alone in Christendom answers to this demand. No doubt Newman, and possibly Ward, recognised the strength of the foundation on which the Church rests, before they admitted that one and one only edifice had been successfully built thereupon. On the struggle and mental strife which preceded the full acceptance of the truth, and on the result which followed, we need not further dwell. In conclusion, we will express a hope that, to many equally sincere searchers after truth, their path may be made plainer by the study of what is probably the most useful chapter in Mr. Wilfrid Ward's book, and the one which is the most likely to influence Anglicans in their submission to the Church.

1. *Leabhar Sgeulaigheachta*, cruinnighthe agus curtha le chéile le DUBHGLAS DE H-IDE. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Sons. 1889.

2. *Oidhe Chloinne Tuireann*. The Fate of the Children of Tuireann. Edited for the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language. With Notes, Translation, and a Complete Vocabulary. By RICHARD J. O'DUFFY, Hon. Sec. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Sons. 1888.

1. **T**HIS is one of the best popular publications in the Irish language and character that has ever come under our notice. In form and size it is a handy book, and the paper and Irish type are first-rate. The work, as its title indicates, is a collection of folk-tales taken down from the lips of the Irish peasantry, and presented to the public in their primitive form. In this respect the author has judiciously performed the rather difficult task of preserving the peculiar speech of the narrators while making the stories intelligible to the Irish student in every part of Ireland. The chapter entitled "Songs and Rhymes" is as interesting as any in the book. Some of the verses remind us forcibly of the Welsh "penillion," both in their terse wit and in their form, as for instance, the following:—

"Horrible to me is the harp that hath no strings,
Horrible to me is the song without sweetness,
Horrible to me is the jewsharp without a tongue,
And horrible to me the tailor without scissors."

Much worldly wisdom is contained in these lines :—

“ He who is down is trampled on ;
He who is up, his health is drunk.”

We think the author has been wise to add an appendix of English notes. These are explanatory of various literary and philological points in the text, and add greatly to the general interest of the book.

2. Here we have another of the excellent text-books issued by this society. It is a version in modern Irish of a very ancient Gaelic folk-tale. Even though unacquainted with Irish, a student of Celtic folk-lore should possess this book and read the English translation. This classic has been edited to supply the requirements of the Celtic examiners in the Royal University of Ireland. We have nothing but praise to accord to the work.

The Masque of Mary. By EDWARD CASWALL. London :
Burns & Oates.

A VOLUME of poems by the author of “*Lyra Catholica*” comes well recommended to our readers, nor will they be disappointed in the present collection. The pieces are mainly Scriptural, and contain many beautiful and devotional ideas expressed in poetic language, and with full command of metre and versification. “*The Easter Ship*” describing the vision of the Hermit of Finisterre foreshadowing the return of England to the Catholic Faith, is an interesting religious ballad, and “*A Masque of Angels*” is a graceful fancy of the childhood of Our Lady representing a series of Scriptural incidents as enacted before her in the Temple by her angelic attendants.

May Carols. By AUBREY DE VERE. London : Burns & Oates.

WE hail with pleasure a popular edition of Mr. de Vere's beautiful series of poems, in which, as befits the exalted nature of his subject, the Catholic poet, *par excellence*, has touched the zenith of achievement. The versification recalls the grave melody of *In Memoriam*, although the rhyme of the Quatrains does not follow the same rule, being simply alternated. Their harmonious cadence may be judged from the subjoined stanza :

Upon Thy face, O God, Thy world
Looks ever up in love and awe ;
Thy stars, in circles onward hurled,
Sustain the steady yoke of law.

In alternating antiphons
Stream sings to stream, and sea to sea ;
And moons that set, and sinking suns
Obeisance make, O God, to thee.

The swallow, winter's rage o'erblown,
 Again, on warm spring breezes borne,
 Revisiteth her haunts well-known ;
 The lark is faithful to the morn.

The whirlwind, missioned with its wings
 To drown the fleet or fell the tower,
 Obeys thee as the bird that sings
 Her love-chant in a fleeting shower.

Amid an ordered universe
 Man's spirit only dares rebel ;
 With light, O God, its darkness pierce !
 With love its raging chaos quell !

The Harp of Jesus. By the REV. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.
 Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THIS tiny volume, styled on the title-page, "A Prayer Book in Verse," ought to have a place among the devotional books of every Catholic. Prayers and aspirations, beautiful in their simplicity, are given metrical form in melodious verse, facilitating their committal to memory. It is, for this reason, specially adapted to children, but not the less will the older generation find in it ideas to elevate and instruct.

Carmina Silvula. By JAMES A. STORY, B.A. London: Authors' Co-operative Publishing Co. 1890.

A GRACEFUL fancy, combined with the perhaps rarer gift of grace of expression, renders Mr. Story's pretty volume of verse, original and translated, as attractive within, as its vellum-binding with gilt lettering, makes it without. We give the subjoined little snatch of song, entitled "Earthly Joys," as a specimen, not because the best that might be chosen, but because its brevity enables us to print it all:

The lovely colours of the spring,
 Soon, soon decay ;
 The birds that then so sweetly sing,
 Soon fly away.

The rose that now so fairly blooms,
 Blooms but to-day ;
 The flowers that have sweetest perfumes,
 Make shortest stay.

Earth's greatest joys soonest depart ;
 Love naught too well :
 Lest when 'tis gone a bleeding heart
 Thine anguish tell.

The Poet's Purgatory. By H. I. D. RYDER. Dublin :
M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

FATHER RYDER'S elegant and scholarly muse has found congenial subjects in those treated in this volume of poems, original and translated. Many are in sonnet form, and the novena of sonnets to St. Philip Neri is an especially interesting example of the author's skill in the use of this supreme test of metrical facility. Among the translations, the most noteworthy is "The Nightingale," also a difficult piece of versification, as each quatrain has but a single rhyme. This early Latin poem, frequently ascribed to St. Bonaventure, is assigned by Father Ryder to John of Hovenden, chaplain to Edward I.'s queen, Eleanor, who died in 1275. A note contains the translator's authorities for this substitution.

Mary of Nazareth. By Sir JOHN CROKER BARROW, Bart.
Parts I. and II. London : Burns & Oates.

WE gladly welcome the final volumes of Sir John Barrow's beautiful poem on Our Lady, which have the same lofty grace of language and idea as had the first volume. In the second volume he brings down his poetic narrative of the life of Our Lady from the Nativity to the death of St. Joseph. He tells the story of the sacred Infancy and Life in Nazareth in solemn and melodious verse. The following stanza, recounting the visit of the Magi, may serve as a specimen :—

Adoring Him, the while glad tears they wept,
They then to Mary and to Joseph told,
How, whilst they watched together, as of old,
The Star-life of the heavens, when others slept,
A strange Star had dropped downwards through the sky,
Like some lost jewel from the Throne on high,
And passing through the multitude of gems,
Which hung above the clouds like diadems,
Had neared to where they watched, had paused awhile,
Had westward moved, had smiled a bright Star-smile
Upon them, last of all, from overhead,
As if to bid them follow where it led.

The author has had a still more difficult task in his third part where he has had to deal with the dread mysteries of the Passion as well as those of the Resurrection and Ascension. The subjoined stanza will give an idea of the treatment of these high themes :

'Tis midnight—as 'twas midnight at His birth—
Earth sleeps upon one hemisphere of earth
'Tis midnight—yet is there strange light on high
As if the sun had thought his rising nigh ;

Yet neither doth the moon grow pale for him,
 Nor do the stars, at sight of him, grow dim ;
 But moon above grows full of brighter white,
 And stars above grow full of whiter light,
 Whilst Mary seeks that garden, angel-led,
 And, angel-guarded, stands beneath the shade
 Of vine-wed Olive, near where He is laid,
 Attended by the spirits of the dead.

Political Science Quarterly. New York. December 1889, and
 March 1890.

THIS high-class periodical, as it reaches its fifth year, shows no sign of failing powers, and is a standing reproach to us on this side of the Atlantic that we have no similar organ of political and economic science. In the December number the article on Marriage and Divorce gives a summary of Commissioner Wright's Report, published at Washington, and dealing with twenty years' figures in the United States and part of Europe. Allowing for the different rate of increase of population, the growth of divorce is about the same in the Old World and the New, being about two and a half times greater than the growth of population. Extreme frequency of divorce in three or four States of America (each of the forty and more States of the Union have their own marriage laws) has been somewhat checked recently by some amendment in the scandalous laxity of their particular law ; but this is only a slight reaction, and Mr. Dike, the writer of the article, proves how idle is the hope that any great change would be produced by the establishment of a general and uniform law of marriage and divorce throughout the United States. A disagreeable feature is that the presence of children appears from the statistics to be getting less and less an obstacle to divorce. Mr. Dike sums up that the movement of divorce is an international one, that it is of great magnitude, and that its advance is constant and rapid. Of any remedy he says nothing, and seems to think we must acquiesce in the advance of an inevitable phenomenon. He gives in a note the following official figures of a non-Christian community—namely, Japan :

Year.	Marriages.	Divorces.	Ratio of Divorces to Marriages.
1884 . .	287,842	109,905 . .	1 to 2'62
1885 . .	259,497	113,565 . .	1 to 2'28
1886 . .	315,311 . .	117,964 . .	1 to 2'67

This in a population of thirty-eight and a half millions. A simple writing, transferring the woman back from her husband's to her father's family, is sufficient for Japanese divorce.

Now it may be argued that if in a country advancing so quickly in wealth, population and power as Japan, divorce is so frequent and so innocuous, we need not be scared by its growth in Europe and America. But there is a flaw in this argument. The peoples of Europe and

America have had the light of Christianity and practised Christian family life, and cannot escape from their tremendous responsibility. The prevalence of divorce means for them the abandonment of the Christian family; they must be called *after-Christians*, whereas the Japanese (or Chinese or Hindus) are *fore-Christians*, not having ever as yet been Christian peoples. Hence it is idle to look to them for an example. We must look rather at the family life among the Mahometans of Syria or Morocco to see the depths into which those may fall who follow a new gospel professing to be better than Christianity. The new Australian laws of divorce, to which the home Government have given an unwilling consent, show how rapidly there also they are running in the ways of after-Christian civilisation. Fortunately, one-third of the inhabitants of Australia hold the Catholic faith; and we are certain that what has been observed in America is equally true in Australia—namely, “the fidelity of the Roman Catholic Church and the good results of its influence,” to which Commissioner Wright’s report bears testimony. Truly, if the two English-speaking continents are to escape national decay, and decay in the near future, their hope lies in the spread of the Catholic faith and the consequent spread of Christian family life. This may seem to some an exaggeration, to others a paradox; but if they look below the surface and appearance of well-being they will see that both these great communities have been smitten with a terrible disease in a vital part, for the disease of irreligion has taken hold of their family life. And I see no grounds for assuming, where so active and evil a cause is at work, that there will be a miraculous suspension of its effects.

In the March number two articles, one on the American “General Property Tax,” and the other on “The Mortgage Evil,” are both well worth reading, and full of instruction for ourselves. For there are still many simple people in England who think the owners of land are grasping monopolists, and the rest of the inhabitants amiable and innocent. This delusion, which accidental circumstances fostered half a century ago, when the corn laws were being attacked, was not shared by Adam Smith, and before his time we have the pertinent remark of Walpole that “landed gentlemen are like the flocks upon their plains, who suffer themselves to be shorn without resistance; whereas the trading part of the nation resemble the boar, who will not suffer a bristle to be plucked from his back without making the whole parish to echo with his complaints.” In truth, all history shows that small owners of land, the best part of a nation, are in constant need of some sort of protection, like sheep from a variety of ravening beasts; and that even owners of large or considerable estates, when once a vigorous central government has been established and an active commercial class arisen, are liable to be preyed upon by the traders. Professor Seligman, in his learned article, shows how again and again a tax meant to be on property in general has been shifted (as in the United States) to

the rural population, and made a special burden on land. And Mr. Dunn, taking three of the most vigorous States of the West—Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois (with an aggregate population of about seven millions)—reckons the annual payments as interest on mortgage at nearly thirty million dollars, and the drain from other causes, such as payments to absentees and to creditors other than mortgagees, nearly as much again, so that wealth equivalent in English currency to over ten million pounds is annually transferred from the rural inhabitants of those three Western States to the urban and commercial inhabitants of the East. The mountainous load of debt has been, perhaps, not so completely incurred in “profitless extravagance or unfortunate speculation” as Mr. Dunn supposes: still much of it has been mere waste as far as any good came to the land. Just the same can be said of most of the debt with which the land in Ireland and Great Britain, in Germany and Austria, in France and Italy, is charged; and a new Solon is sorely needed to lift the burden from rural shoulders, and place it on the broad and wealthy back of commerce.

C. S. DEVAS.

Elements of Logic as a Science of Propositions. By E. E. CONSTANCE JONES, Lecturer in Moral Sciences, Girton College, Cambridge. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

MISS JONES originally intended to publish the matter of this volume under the title of “Notes on Logic,” and we consider that she has been ill-advised to change her intention. The book can in no sense be called “The Elements of Logic.” Many of the problems, over which the authoress expends no inconsiderable labour, would vanish if she would correct her notion of logic. Logic is not the science of propositions. To make it such is simply to degrade it to the level of a higher grammar. Propositions are the signs of judgments, and logic treats of judgment as well as of other acts of the mind. Nor is logic thus confounded with psychology, as Miss Jones seems to think; just as kinetics is not confounded with any science which treats of the origin and nature of force. Logic is the science of the laws of thought, or of the order of the acts of the mind one to the other.

As a sample of the useless problems with which Miss Jones concerns herself, see the note on the “predicables,” p. 78. Here the authoress has confused herself and will not enlighten her readers. She confesses herself unable to say what predicable is predicated in the propositions, “This animal is a man” and “These animals are men.” Why not species? Must species always explicitly state genus and difference? Again, higher up on the same page, she accuses the scholastics of omitting the consideration of the proposition, “Man is a rational animal.” The reason why the scholastics have not noticed this so-called proposition is, as is frequently pointed out, that a definition is not a proposition, properly so called. A pro-

position requires two terms, either explicitly or implicitly, and in the case given there is only one term. We should be pleased if we could find anything in this volume on which to bestow some little praise, but we find the task beyond our powers. We are glad, however, to notice that this book is not meant for beginners, and sincerely hope, for their sakes, that no enthusiastic disciple of the lecturer at Girton may apply it to a use for which it was not meant, and certainly is not suited.

The Story of the Nations: The Barbary Corsairs. By STANLEY LANE-POOLE. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

THE passenger who steams luxuriously through the Mediterranean on board one of the magnificent vessels of the Pacific and Oriental Company has no fear that his voyage will be interrupted except by accident or storm. But even as late as sixty years ago, a traveller who set sail from Cartagena for Naples ran the risk of spending the rest of his days in some bagnio at Algiers, while his wife and daughters would meet with a yet more awful fate. For more than three centuries the Corsairs were masters of the Mediterranean. The great European Powers were not ashamed to pay blackmail to the pirates, and to enter into treaties with their kings. The story of their rise, their successful raids, their defeats, and their final suppression, is full of thrilling adventures. With such a subject Mr. Lane-Poole could not fail to produce a most interesting book. He has done his work well. Admiral de la Gravière's volumes, so often praised in this REVIEW, have been largely drawn upon both for matter and for illustrations. The Catholic reader will note the account of the labours of the Trinitarian Order for the Redemption of Captives.

T. B. S.

The Life and Letters of Charlotte Elizabeth, Princess Palatine and Mother of Philippe d'Orleans, Regent of France. London: Chapman & Hall. 1889.

THE young Duc d'Orleans, who is just now reminding Europe that the cause of the Orleanists is still alive, is the descendant of the remarkable woman whose life and letters have lately been published in English. She was the daughter of a grandson of our James I., and was consequently one of the many Catholic claimants set aside by the Act of Settlement passed in favour of George I., who was only the son of James I.'s granddaughter. She was married to Philippe d'Orleans, Louis XIV.'s only brother. During her long absence from her native country she corresponded regularly with her German relatives, giving them much interesting information about the Court of France, and, to a less extent, about the Courts of England and Spain. The various religious questions of the day—

Huguenot, Jansenistic, and philosophical—had great interest for her. The present volume contains a number of these letters translated into fairly good English, and strung together by useful biographical notes. It deserves to be read by all who would know something of the inner life of the Grand Monarque.

The Treasury of Sacred Song: Selected from the English Lyrical Poetry of Four Centuries; with Notes, Explanatory and Biographical. By FRANCIS T. PALGRAVE. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1889.

A SELECTION of Sacred Song, published by the Clarendon Press, selected from English poetry of the last four hundred years, and edited by a Professor of Poetry, could hardly fail to be well printed, ably edited, and to contain many verses of merit. Mr. Palgrave has made a treasury of many beautiful poems, by a great number of authors, in different tones of thought and with much variety of style. He has, moreover, introduced his readers to, or has reminded them of, a large "mass of unfamiliar verse" in two different and even opposite directions. After this general witness to the laborious and successful work of the editor, we feel free, and even bound, to make a specific qualification, and to record an adverse criticism. Mr. Palgrave's sacred garland of song is not so complete, nor so comprehensive, as it might have been, and as it ought to have been. The selection is much too exclusive, and is not sufficiently wide. Space has been too lavishly devoted to certain authors, not to say has been, in some cases, absolutely wasted. He has over-weighted many of his pages with verse that must be not only familiar to the majority of his readers, but which has been circulated during the last two or three generations almost by the million.

In the limited space here available, we will briefly justify this estimate by reference to three only out of more authors, as varied in character, position and style, as any other three who are quoted in the volume—Mr. Keble, Henry Vaughan, and Cardinal Newman. The "Treasury" contains 328 pages, or something under 16,000 lines of verse, divided amongst rather more than 100 authors; which gives an average of about three pages to each. Each author certainly should not be represented by an equal number of poems or pages; and, in fact, about fifty poets are represented by a single piece of verse only; and nearly twenty more can claim but a couple of poems each. When, then, we survey the broad expanse of type allotted to Mr. Keble, and remember that the "Christian Year" (amongst other of his poetry) has been issued for nearly three parts of a century, and lately been widely circulated by many different publishers, we feel that an aggregate of forty-three hymns, making 2000 lines, and occupying forty-five pages, is a serious waste of room. To Henry Vaughan, to whom, however, a larger proportion of space,

on many grounds, is more defensible, the editor has devoted thirty-eight hymns, thirty-two pages, or over 1500 lines. To yet another highly-favoured contributor, Cardinal Newman, the editor has been, with better reason and effect, though less lavishly, generous of space. If the necessary deductions be made for contributors of one poem only, it will be found that these three authors together occupy upwards of one-third part of the rest of the volume; a grave error of judgment, when the scope and intention of the book is considered.

Naturally, we estimate the "Treasury" from a Catholic standpoint. And, from this aspect, whilst regretting the numerous omissions of Catholic names, we own ourselves indebted to Mr. Palgrave for making even more widely known and valued than they are, amongst our countrymen, the verse of Cardinal Newman, the selections from whose poems reach 32 in number, and fill nearly 20 pages. Mr. Palgrave has borrowed with good results from upwards of a dozen other poets who were, or once had been, or ought to have been, Catholics. Amongst them may be mentioned John Austin, who contributes five poems; Crashaw, who appears thrice; Father Faber, who is quoted six times; William Habington (xvij century), who is responsible for five poems, and Southwell for two; and Dryden, the last Catholic Laureate, and W. Dunbar, the little-known Scotch poet (xv-xvj centuries), in the past, and Coventry Patmore and Adelaide Procter, in the present, who are represented by one poem only a piece. Drummond, of Hawthornden, also, who is credited—however doubtfully, and if truly, under circumstances unknown to us—with the translation of the Office Hymns in the Catholic Primer of his day; and Ben Jonson, his friend and intimate, who was once and for many years a Catholic, have severally contributed six and two poems, to which their names are affixed. Possibly several other authors, certainly two more, are Catholic, amongst those whose contributions are anonymous—Fathers Augustin Baker and Nicholas Postgate.

Mr. Palgrave takes a high tone in his principle of selection for the "Treasury." His first aim has been, he tells us, "to offer poetry for poetry's sake." He has likewise drawn his lines of selection so as to exclude translations, which, he holds, hardly ever reach excellence as poetry. Paraphrases, however, are jealously admitted on sufferance, though the great and almost the sole capable and Protestant renderer of hymns from the Greek, Dr. Neale—whose renderings are often most poetically paraphrastic—is conspicuous by his absence. In spite of both limitations, however, we might have reasonably expected to find the names of at least a score of Catholic poets, which are nevertheless not included in Mr. Palgrave's list. One palmary instance alone, which is simply unaccountable and inexcusable, need be stated. It would be incredible to one who had not examined the book to be told that Aubrey de Vere—whom, now that Browning has passed away, we may sanguinely hope some day to see as a far-off descendant of "glorious John," in his Laureate honours—remains unquoted, even once; but such is the fact.

Finally, two or three points demand brief notice. The "Treasury" possesses no table of contents at the beginning, a serious want for the intelligent reading of it. Authors' names are placed only once at the foot of their several contributions—viz., at the end of the first piece. It is true, their names appear as page headings; but, where pages and authors' names overlap each other, this is an awkward arrangement. Many pieces have no title attached. In the index of writers, the pages of their contributions have not been given; and in the notes, the sources of the poems are generally omitted. Again, Mr. Palgrave unwisely claims for English lyric religious poetry that it possesses, "in great measure, the ground-work of a common faith." The only ground-work which an average Catholic reader can discover to be common amongst the miscellaneous contributors to this large collection of verse, is the adoption of the English alphabet. From a religious aspect, nearly every form of profession or negation of belief is duly represented in its pages. Lastly, there is hardly a dogma, a mystery, or a fact in Christianity into which our Blessed Lady does not directly enter, or with which she is not indirectly connected. In a volume, then, of the scope of the present one, we might expect to find a due proportion of lyric poetry devoted to her honour. So far as we have observed, there are but three. Two of these, by Mr. Keble, are simply un-Catholic and apologetic in yielding to her the homage of nineteen centuries and the devotion of a world-wide Christianity. The third, the one which relieves the book from the solecism of entirely ignoring Mary, in a Catholic temper and spirit, is a lyric written by Henry Vaughan. It runs as follows—the heading being of our own making, as more in harmony with its contents than the title printed by Mr. Palgrave—and is probably new to some of our readers:—

THE TRUE LOVE'S-KNOT.

Bright Queen of Heaven, God's Virgin Spouse,
 The glad world's blessed Maid,
 Whose beauty tied Life to thy house,
 And brought us saving aid:
 Thou art the true Love's-Knot; by thee
 God is made our ally;
 And man's inferior essence he
 With his did dignify.
 For, coalescent by that band
 We are his body grown,
 Nourished with favours from his hand,
 Whom for our Head we own.
 And such a Knot, what arm dares loose,
 What life, what death can sever?
 Which us in him, and him in us,
 United keeps for ever.

National Education. By HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

The Irish University Question. Addresses by the Most Rev. Dr. WALSH, Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

CARDINAL MANNING has here gathered together eight essays and papers published by him on the question of elementary education during the past five years. First, we have "Fifty Reasons why the Voluntary Schools of England ought to share the School Rates;" next come two papers contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* on the Education Act of 1870. The fourth is entitled, "Is the Christianity of England worth preserving?" and appeared in the same periodical. In this article the Cardinal cites at considerable length the remarks of Mr. Richard Grant White in the *North American Review* (1880), and M. Jules Simon's work, "Dieu, Patrie et Liberté," to illustrate his position—that if we betray or surrender our Christian schools, we undermine the Christianity and the national character of our people. In the sixth of these useful essays, Cardinal Manning again turns to America, quoting not only Mr. White, but Mr. Montgomery ("The School Question"), in order to show the results in the States of New York and California of the American public school system. The seventh paper is a commentary on one of the most important points raised by the Report of the late Education Commission—the right of the voluntary schools to a share in the school rate. In this powerfully argued article his Eminence, whilst refuting the reasoning of the secularists, lays down in clear and convincing language his own view—that a new and larger scheme of national education is required, which shall supply the deficiencies of the Act of 1870, and restore to our voluntary schools that liberty of which not that Act itself, but its administration, has deprived them. The volume ends with a reprint of the "Reservation" which he caused to be appended to the Report of the Royal Commission.

Archbishop Walsh's Address to the Catholic University (of Ireland) School of Medicine is a powerful and comprehensive plea for that "levelling up" in higher education which alone would be both practicable and just to Irish Catholics. His exposure of the "intolerance" of Trinity College, even since 1873, and his repudiation of the principle of "mixed education," are masterly. The address is full of facts and illustrations. The other speech, delivered at Blackrock College on the 5th of December last, travels over the same ground; but in it he devotes some attention to Mr. Balfour's promise—to satisfy the "legitimate aspirations" of Irish Catholics in this matter—and to the same gentleman's "three conditions," as stated at Partick on December 1.

The Kalendar and Rite used by the Catholics since the time of Elizabeth.

By the Rev. JOHN MORRIS, S.J., F.S.A. Westminster :
Nichols & Son. 1890.

THIS reprint from the *Archæologia*, vol. 52, discusses at length and with much learning the change of style, the alteration of the commencement of the years, and the Church Kalendar, as far as these things affected our English Catholic forefathers from the days of Elizabeth and James. It seems that Easter and the moveable feasts were kept by the Catholics of England, at least as early as 1594, on the same days on which they were kept by continental Catholics according to the new, or Gregorian, reckoning. Father Morris gives his reasons for thinking this, and he gathers up what evidence there is about the cessation or modification of the old feasts and fasts in the face of the consolidation of the change of religion in the country. He continues the history of festivals down to the present time, describing the additions to the Kalendar made at the request of the English prelates by successive Popes. A very large amount of antiquarian information, of special interest to Catholics, is collected in this essay, which is written in Father Morris's well-known clear and pregnant style.

Life of Dom Bosco, Founder of the Salesian Society. Translated from the French of J. M. VILLEFRANCHE by Lady MARTIN.
London : Burns & Oates.

IT is, perhaps, a pity that Lady Martin did not choose to translate rather the "Life of Don Bosco," by Dr. Ch. D'Espiney, which has run to its tenth edition, was written by an intimate friend of Don Bosco, and moreover has been (and is the only Life) formally approved by the Superior-General of the Salesian Fathers, Don Bosco's spiritual children. However, that is only a question of preference and it is a pleasure to say that in Lady Martin's translation of Villefranche the English reader has a full and interesting account of a most remarkable man—a man of our own time, and yet of high spirituality, and signally favoured by Heaven. The French Life is in a style very difficult indeed to render into such English as is, at the same time, representative of the French and sufficiently idiomatic. As far as we have been able to compare the English with the French, Lady Martin has succeeded to a great extent in overcoming the difficulties of translation, and she is to be congratulated on the result. The volume, which is well printed and got up, it may be pointed out, offers highly interesting matter to others than Catholics in search of edification from the story of a supernatural and stirring life ; it appeals also to social reformers and educationists—Don Bosco's principles of action and success with his boys might teach and would certainly astonish others besides the English statesman who visited him at Turin (p. 172). It would have been better not to follow M. Villefranche in styling the subject of the biography

Dom Bosco. It is Don Bosco; and the Salesian Fathers never call their founder Dom Bosco, always Don—as their present General is Don Rua.

1. *Ven. P. Ludovice De Ponte, S.J. Meditationes de præcipuis fidei nostræ myrteriis, de novo editæ, curâ AUGUSTINI LEHMKUHL, S.J. Pars I., II., III. Friburgi: Herder. 1889-90.*
2. *Manna Quotidianum Sacerdotum. Edidit JACOBUS SCHMITT. Editio 3, Tom. I. Friburgi: Herder. 1890.*

WE welcome this well-edited edition of a standard spiritual work that in the days of our forefathers had a prominent place in an ascetic library. Louis de Ponte, or de la Puente, who was born at Valladolid in 1554, entered the Society of Jesus December 2, 1574, and became a disciple of the famed Balthassar Alvarez, who, as Master of Novices, trained so many young men in the spiritual life. De Ponte's "Meditations" have been held in high esteem from their very first appearance, in Spanish. They were translated into Latin by command of the celebrated Father Aquaviva, General of the Society; and the style of the Latin version merits the praise of being called classical. As to the solidity of doctrine which distinguishes De Ponte, his clearness of exposition and true piety, we need say nothing, it would be superfluous now to re-appreciate the familiar "De Ponte." We need only here note the propriety of this new edition being confined to the care of Father Lehmkuhl, the eminent theologian, who has performed his task admirably. The publishers have also done their part: paper and type are excellent.

2. The second book is a new edition of another work which we are pleased to see in demand, a work which has long been esteemed, especially by missionary priests, who cannot have a library of authors at hand. The "Daily Manna" is here gathered for them from the best ascetical writers, the choice of subjects being made with reference to the duties and obligations of a pastor of souls. Canon Schmitt has carefully corrected and edited, and to this third edition has added some 52 pages of indulgenced prayers suitable for priests. The three other volumes will appear in the course of the summer.

A. BELLESHEIM.

How to Help the Sick and Dying. London: The Catholic Truth Society.

THIS twopenny manual ought to be very useful to nurses and to others who, whether from necessity or devotion, tend the sick and would like to do so with advantage to the soul of their patient. It is composed of rules and suggestions for conduct in the sick-room and of a selection of brief pointed prayers to be said with or for the sufferer. The second half of the volume contains some useful reminders as to what should be done by a Catholic to help the dying, to prepare for the administration of the Sacraments, &c.; it also gives prayers before and after the last Sacraments and prayers for the dying. The prayers are printed in large-sized type. The

Catholic Truth Society have not issued anything, perhaps, of a more thoroughly useful kind than this modest little book, which ought to become very popular.

Illustrated Bible History of the Old and New Testaments. For the Use of Catholic Schools. By DR. J. SCHUSTER. New Edition. Freiburg in Breisgau, St. Louis, Mo., and New York. B. Herder : 1890.

THE first thing to be noted about this well-printed, profusely illustrated octavo volume of over 400 pages, is its cheapness—for it costs, bound, only 1s. 3d.—a point which, when its general excellence is remembered, will highly recommend it for school use. Dr. Schuster's work is held in very wide esteem, and has been translated into, we believe, over a dozen languages. The English version has been approved of by the archbishops and bishops of the United States, and appears to well deserve the encomiums they have pronounced upon it. The narrative is sometimes in the words of the Bible; always in the simplest possible words, and where a longer or unusual term has to be used its meaning is given in a note. Notes also give the pronunciation of proper names—a useful feature. The chapters are short, each containing enough for one lesson, and they are followed by examination questions, which form another useful feature. The choice of incident and character of treatment have been regulated, we need hardly remark, with reference to the intelligence and tastes of children, and, so far as we can see, successfully. Finally, the numerous woodcuts are of the kind with which we are familiar in Father Formby's Scripture histories, and they help to make the book more attractive, whilst two good maps, showing, one, the route of the Israelites through the desert, and the other Palestine in our Lord's time, are added at the end of the volume, and will be found useful. Nothing further need be said to indicate the merits and aim of this Bible History, which has, perhaps, only the one drawback of American spelling. The same enterprising firm issue, we see, an "Abridged Bible History" by the same author, with a choice of pictures, and the sections shortened and written in the simplest short words, admirable for the nursery or infant school.

The Trials of a Country Parson. By AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.
London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

SEVEN ESSAYS, of which the first six have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, and the seventh in the *North American Review*, are republished in a handsome volume, by the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, so well known for his literary and antiquarian labours. The two papers which give the title to the book treat of the various troubles which beset the Parson in general, and the East Anglian

Parson in particular. We are informed that the country Parson's income is always overstated—that his difficulties about the tithe are incessant, and his persecution by demons in the shape of rate and tax collectors is perpetual. Then the country Parson has to help everybody. Dr. Jessopp is very vehement against the "chatter and babble" of the "miserable prigs" who exclaim that the country parson's almsgiving demoralizes and pauperizes the poor. He admits, however, that he draws a line at tramps. He tells some good stories—showing how he has been imposed upon, how his rich and vulgar neighbours have patronized him, how thick-witted and unsentimental is the East Anglian labourer. The great trial of the country Parson is his isolation, and what makes his position really cheerless is its absolute finality. The other papers treat of the Anglican Church, the *status* of the incumbents, the possibility of making them removable, the tithe-question, the fabric of the churches, &c. They are more interesting to Anglicans than to ourselves, but they are all written in Dr. Jessopp's lively, humorous, and quaint style—a style which conveys a good deal of common-sense and wisdom, but is perhaps becoming just a little too much spun out. We make room for an interesting extract on the Catholic Churches of England before the Reformation:

If we could go back, in imagination, to the condition of these churches as they were left when the Reformation began, it may safely be affirmed that there was not at any time, there never had been, and there is never likely to be again, anything in the world to compare with our English churches. There never has been an area of anything like equal extent so immeasurably rich in works of art such as were then to be found within the four seas. The prodigious and incalculable wealth stored up in the churches of this country in the shape of sculpture, glass, needlework, sepulchral monuments in marble, alabaster, and metal—the jewelled shrines, the precious MSS. and their bindings, the frescoes and carved work, the vestments and exquisite vessels in silver and gold, and all the quaint and dainty and splendid productions of an exuberant artistic appetite and an artistic passion for display, which were to be found not only in the great religious houses, but dispersed more or less in every parish church in England, constituted such an enormous aggregate of precious forms of beauty as fairly baffles the imagination when we attempt to describe it. . . . The locusts devoured all (p. 150).

1. *The Pilgrim's Handbook to Jerusalem and its Neighbourhood.* By WILFRID C. ROBINSON, from the French, by Brother LIÉVIN DE HAMME, O.S.F., Resident at Jerusalem. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. Bruges: De Planke Brothers.
2. *A Visit to Europe and the Holy Land.* By the Rev. H. FAIRBANKS. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. London: Burns & Oates.

MR. WILFRID C. ROBINSON'S "Pilgrim's Handbook" is a translation of those portions of Frère Liévin's esteemed "Guide-Indicateur de la Terre Sainte," which refer to the Holy City and its immediate neighbourhood. There is nothing like it in the

English language, we believe. For the legion of English works relating to the Holy Land are written by non-Catholics, and fail to note those points which are of special interest to the Catholic pilgrim, if, indeed, they do not note them to ridicule or smile at them, with the English tourist's very superior smile. This Handbook gives exactly that information which a Catholic will find most useful and interesting. It even notes the hours at which Masses, according to the Latin rite, may be offered in the churches of Jerusalem; and other similar minute particulars. And, in addition, it furnishes the usual guide-book details as to the history, customs, &c., of the country; details, however, which are Frère Liévin's own, and the result of his practical experience, during nearly forty years, with life and travel in Palestine. "The Pilgrim's Handbook" will, therefore, doubtless take its place permanently as *the* guide-book for English-speaking Catholic visitors. On its material side it has every recommendation; it is printed in clear type, on thin but opaque paper, is supplied with a map and plan of the Holy City, is of convenient size, is bound in a limp cover, and, finally, weighs barely eight ounces. We cannot help wishing, however, that Mr. Robinson had not restricted himself to the vicinity of the Holy City, but had given briefly, at least, some of the chief Christian sites, ancient and modern, further north, more emphatically Nazareth. And this might, perhaps, have been done by the omission of some of the introductory general sketch of the Holy Land, its geology, botany, &c., as it contains chiefly the kind of information which is so readily obtainable in greater detail in numerous English books. With this exception, however, and judging of the Handbook from a rather rapid survey—all that is possible at the late moment when it reaches us—we can write nothing but in commendation of it. Frère Liévin belongs to that Franciscan Order which has for some centuries had the custody of the Holy Places. The Friars were first brought to Jerusalem, as will be remembered, by St. Francis himself, and more than once in subsequent times have these faithful custodians had to suffer imprisonment and even death. Their greatest suffering has been, at various times, to see some of the shrines so sacred to the Christian heart given over to desecration, or to the custody of unworthy hands. In 1672 a treaty was concluded between Louis XIV. and the Sublime Porte, one article of which ran: "The Franciscans shall henceforth be left in undisturbed possession of their sanctuaries both within and without Jerusalem," in spite of which express promise, however, Turkey, no later than three years after, handed some of the Franciscan sanctuaries to the schismatic Greeks. The Friars remain at the present time deprived of some of their sanctuaries. They have been exiled from the Church of the Assumption, and can no longer say Mass on the spot of our Lord's Nativity, and have lately lost some ancient privileges of offering an occasional Mass at other shrines. Most of the "holy places," however, still remain under their care; confided to it by the Holy See. The visitor to Palestine soon discovers how ungrudging and valuable is their

hospitality; but, beside this, they render every possible assistance, spiritual and temporal, to the pilgrim. They also serve the Catholic parishes, support parochial schools, and to the crowd of needy sick act as doctors and hospital nurses. They have care, too, of the widow and orphan; and they also feed, clothe, and help the poor—who, at Jerusalem, certainly are “always with us.”

The Franciscans who thus live and work in Palestine are entitled “The Fathers of the Holy Land,” and are presided over by the Father Guardian of the Holy Land; and it is interesting to learn that, besides their head establishment in the Holy City, they have their own novitiate at Nazareth, and their houses of philosophical and theological studies at places within Palestine itself—philosophy, for instance, their young men learn at Bethlehem. How full of suggestion and the highest philosophy the very place must be to them! Belonging as he does to this favoured Order, and writing after so many years of residence and active work in Palestine, it will be easily understood with what interest and affection *Frère Liévin* writes. With him the authenticity of the sacred “places” is sufficiently vindicated in their history: he gives a legend, or tradition, when there is one, without either sceptical smile or critical hesitation. He gives full information of the establishments and good works being done at the present day by the various religious orders and organisations, and in a most interesting manner he intersperses among his descriptions of localities and events short readings from the Gospel text relating to them. Finally, the name of any “holy place” where a plenary indulgence may be gained by visiting it, is marked with a ✕; whilst a † marks the places where the indulgence which may be gained is partial. The “conditions” for gaining these spiritual benefits are stated in a useful appendix, where also priests will find a list of the sanctuaries and of the various Votive Masses which are permitted at each.

Mr. Robinson’s portion of the work appears to be fairly well done. The index is scarcely ample enough, and as to one heading which we happened to consult, “Jerusalem, population, 79,” the page is certainly incorrect. However, trifling errors of this sort are unavoidable in a first undertaking like this, and do not detract from the debt of gratitude English Catholics owe to him for his translation. He has, himself, been a pilgrim, and in his Preface gives a few practical hints to intending pilgrims: he indicates the clothing that will suit best the climate, and the additional impedimenta that will repay for being taken. It is interesting to learn that firearms are “not absolutely necessary” on the frequented roads; but that even there the sight of a revolver or rifle “no doubt commands respect from the natives;” that “a few remedies for fever and diarrhoea, candles, matches, needles, thread, and soap, will all be found of real use;” and that, for the rest, “a host of things recommended in common guide-books had best be left at home.”

We have added the title of Father Fairbank’s lively book of travels, because the Holy Land portion of it is perhaps the most

interesting, while it supplies some picturesque descriptions of places and scenes in Palestine that are of special Catholic interest, and are not generally to be found in works of travel—at least, not from a Catholic point of view, and given with a Catholic's sympathies and enthusiasms.

The History of Sligo: Town and County. By T. O'RORKE, D.D., M.R.I.A. In Two Volumes. Dublin: James Duffy & Co. 1889.

THE accomplished author of these volumes has supplied a desideratum long felt, of a trustworthy and complete history of the county of Sligo. In two large octavo volumes he says all that is of interest regarding its history, both secular and religious. He has eminently some of the first qualifications of a good historian: an enthusiastic admiration of his native county, patience in research, a critical judgment, and a straightforward amiable manner of writing which makes the perusal of his pages a pleasant task. We have seen his work somewhat censured on the ground of its size, and because it embraced numerous details which (the critic judged) are of little interest to the reading and even to the historical world in general. But it seems to us that the history of a county is primarily at least for the county and those personally concerned in it, and we venture to say that no one of these (even if an outsider did) could find fault with any of the minute personal and local details so pleasantly related by Archdeacon O'Rorke. The history of a county is not the history of Ireland—it is a memoir *pour servir*; and it remains for the historian in the larger sense to select what he requires or to appraise at their juster comparative proportions the events which are, rightly or wrongly, of deepest concern to those who live on the spot, and the lives of the local heroes, who may, when seen from his elevation, be little discernible from the crowd around. We gladly recommend these volumes therefore; and believe that this history of Sligo will henceforward be the standard work on the county, whether as to its antiquarian or its more modern history. It is indeed wonderful how numerous points of archaeological interest are here restated, and their real significance discovered, because of the combination in the author of the student of books and the student of nature. It is not always enough to live in your own county and amid the scenes of the history you would relate; indeed, very often the local historian is too intent on the learned authors who have gone before him, and fails to settle a point from not looking up from his book and scrutinising the unchanging data lying on Nature's page around him. The author of these volumes, whilst he has apparently consulted nearly every author—ancient or modern—who treats of the county, has consulted the hills and rivers of the county too, and, with a quick eye and shrewd judgment, he has found himself able to identify many sites, to rectify numerous mistaken popular traditions, and even not

a few judgments of such archæologists as the famous John O'Donovan. Indeed, he professes to have taken nothing at second-hand that could be verified at the sources by himself, and, having learned to mistrust O'Donovan (and there are some twenty-eight entries in the Index of O'Donovan's "slips" as to Sligo history and archæology), he waves away numerous popular traditions and a host of minor writers. He adds, however:—

In saying so much of O'Donovan, there is no wish to question his right to rank, as he commonly does, as our leading modern authority on the topography of Ireland; and if I make bold to differ from him rather often, I do so without questioning the exceptional weight of his opinions in relation to those parts of Ireland which he had opportunities of studying, an advantage which he never enjoyed in regard to Sligo (Pref. v.).

Archdeacon O'Rorke distinguishes very rightly between the antiquities of a county and the legends which hover around them. With the legends, and the too readily applied explanation of "pre-historic," he has little patience; the antiquities themselves he has studied patiently and carefully, and claims that he has done so with substantial results. He gives a new account of the rise of the town of Sligo, which he contends is modern when compared with many other towns in Ireland. There is, he says, no evidence to show that Sligo existed, under its present or another name, earlier than the thirteenth century; and "the Battle of Sligo," mentioned in the "Annals of the Four Masters" and other annals under the sixth century, he shows to have meant the battle of the river of Sligo. And here we have a valuable instance of how the author has looked to some purpose from his books to the locality itself. He takes the account in the annals of the battle, and locates it—unmistakably we should say. Then, as to the site of Sligo, we may quote what he says, referring to his pages for proofs of various statements.

For first, the situation of the place, lying at the bottom of the deep basin formed by the overhanging hills of Rathvritoge and Cairns, and the high ridge of land to the south-west, would prevent people from congregating or settling there in times of such lawlessness and rapaciousness that men needed to be always on the watch against enemies and freebooters. In such a state of things, the chief recommendation of places of habitation or resort was that they should afford an extensive prospect, so as to enable one to descry at a distance the approach of the marauders; and it was under the influence of this consideration that the earlier inhabitants of Ireland constructed raths—the residences of remote times—in high situations, held assemblies on the tops of hills, ran roads across mountains—eschewing everywhere the valleys—and raised the round tower to such a height as to command a view of all the circumjacent country. So potent was this principle of action, that it operated beyond the grave; for the dying man took care that his body after death should repose on some one of those hills which he frequented during life, as if he felt that what survived of him could not be otherwise sufficiently secure from outrage (vol. i. p. 39).

The author also brings forward a new opinion as to the Carrowmore circles and cromlechs, and transfers them boldly from A.M. 3330

to A.D. 537—at which boldness, he remarks, “there is no occasion to be frightened.” Indeed, he adds, “exaggeration has been the besetting sin of our historians, and this not only to the detriment of Irish history, but to the injury of the people’s minds, by filling them with a credulity in regard to historical matters which has been, and still is in some cases, ready to swallow all kinds of impossibilities.”

Similarly, as to a pre-Christian civilisation in Ireland, the author does not admit it; he even shows that progress in the direction of civilization was very slow after the time of St. Patrick. His historical documents (many of them from unpublished manuscripts) bear out this theory; although there are many good writers who maintain an opposite opinion.

In vol. ii., p. 6, *et seq.* he denies the existence of Druidism in Ireland as a set form of religion. He proves that no such thing existed after the time of St. Patrick, contrary to O’Donovan. This opinion, if true, would do away with the human sacrifices and other abominations which were supposed to be the accompaniments of this weird kind of worship. *Faoi draocht*, or under enchantment, is the Irish mode of expressing Druidic worship, and is considered to have reference to the devil, as a species of *black magic*. The traditional expression means something satanic, which St. Patrick banished from the country. As the Druids sacrificed in the depths of the forest rather than on rocks in the plains, his theory is tenable as to the Christian origin of megalithic monuments. He says that there were Druids in Christian times, who were merely select men, wiser and more learned than their contemporaries.

His picture of the early Irish Church is one of singular primitiveness. Saints Patrick, Bronus, Columba, and Fechin came across the county of Sligo. They founded monasteries, which were endowed with lands, built lath-and-plaster churches, established monastic schools, and gathered people about them who founded their *ballys*, so common as prefixed to the Irish names of places. The monastic system preceded the parochial, and our author (vol. ii. p. 432) shows that such a system was productive of harm, as it was in Scotland, although productive of good in certain cases.

The book gives all the local information which can be gleaned from the records of the past—the secular, religious, civil, warlike, and ecclesiastical events are told with great candour and faithfulness. It may be looked upon as a fault that he speaks so much of persons who are still alive. Contemporary writers have always done so, and there is not a harsh word or an unkind insinuation in all the circumstances mentioned regarding them. He only relates what is to their credit.

As to the secular history of the county, we find very sad and heartrending scenes, the outcome of the predatory habits of the ancient chieftains. A quotation from the annals of Lough Ce. (vol. ii. p. 191) describes the state of things in the Middle Ages: “Brian McDermott, in the month of March, went against the McDonough of

Cowan, to *Bun-an-fedain*, and the place was burnt to the door by him; and he brought two hundred cows out of it, and committed homicides there." And in another place (vol. i. p. 89) the Arch-deacon observes:

Nowhere can one learn better the truth of the maxim that union is strength than in the annals of Ireland; for the reader of these annals sees in every page that the rise or fall of native chieftains depends almost exclusively on the union or division of members of their families.

The author's account of the Norman period shows how these invaders, although they committed depredations, built religious houses, induced a finer style of architecture, helped learning and piety, mostly as atonements for the sins they had committed. In the first volume the writer gives us a graphic description of the sort of men who were chosen by the English to propagate the doctrines of the Reformation in Ireland. "By the admission of all, Protestants as well as Catholics, friends and foes alike, there lived not in those times a more unprincipled man than Milerus, or Miler McGrath, Elizabeth and James's Archbishop of Cashel; and it was he who had now the ecclesiastical administration of most of the county, having received on the 17th September 1606, a grant *in commendam* of Achonry and Killala, with sundry rectories and prebends in these dioceses, as well as in the diocese of Elphin" (vol. i. 306). We find, at the same time, several parsons with rich benefices, who could not write English, Irish, or Latin!

The Cromwellian period was the most disastrous of all. The people, being Papists, were looked upon as Canaanites, to be extirpated on the score of idolatry, and to have their lands partitioned out amongst the soldiers of the Parliament. The whole of the county of Sligo was thus given away, and the ancient lords of the soil flung into the ranks of the peasantry, or goaded into becoming Tories or rapparees. Of the sixty *titulados*, to whom the county was then given, only five or six remain to the present day in their lineal descendants. The harrowing account of the Williamite period, and the period of persecution generally, is brought before us very graphically by the special instances which are recorded.

The greater portion of the first volume is concerned with the town of Sligo, but afterwards every parish in the county receives attention in turn, is traced to its foundation, and its subsequent fortunes are related at length. The local saints have short biographies. The ruins which dot the county get historical notices, sufficiently detailed to make the dwellers in their vicinity, or the curious traveller, acquainted with the days of their glory, and the causes of their decay. The volumes are well printed and creditably brought out, and the woodcuts of the antiquities, as well as of the modern structures of the county, are fairly executed, but the Index is very defective. The volumes are in every way worthy of the learned and gifted author; and not only every native of the county of Sligo, but every Irishman, should be thankful to him.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *The Life of St. Alonso Rodriguez.* By FRANCIS GOLDIE, S.J. (Quarterly Series). London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
2. *Life of Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque of the Sacred Heart.* By the Rev. ALBERT BARRY, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: Gill & Son.
3. *Thoughts and Counsels for the consideration of Catholic Young Men.* By the Rev. P. A. VAN DOSS, S.J. Adapted by the Rev. AUGUSTINE WIRTH, O.S.B. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1889.
4. *Two Spiritual Retreats for Sisters.* By the Rev. W. ZOLLNER. Adapted by the Rev. AUGUSTINE WIRTH, O.S.B. Second Revised Edition. New York and Cincinnati: F. Pustet & Co. 1889.
5. *The Harp of Jesus.* A Prayer Book in Verse. By the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1890.
6. *Flowers from the Catholic Kindergarten.* By Father FRANZ HATTLER, S.J. Translated by J. T. LIVESEY. London: Burns & Oates.
7. *A Shrine and a Story.* By the Author of "Tyborne." London: Catholic Truth Society, 18 West Square, S.E.
8. *The Holy Angels* (October). *The Great Truths* (Advent). *Resurrexit* (Easter to Ascension). By Richard F. CLARKE, S.J. Catholic Truth Society.
9. *Divine Favours granted to St. Joseph.* By Père BINET, S.J. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.
10. *Search the Scriptures.* London: Burns & Oates.
11. *The Golden Prayer.* By the Abbé DUQUESNE. Translated by ANNE STUART BAILEY. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1890.
12. *The Life of St. Germaine Cousin.* By the Rev. D. CHISHOLM. Aberdeen: A. King & Co.
13. *St. Thomas Aquinas.* By FRANCIS P. C. HAYS. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.
14. *Maxims and Counsels of St. Catherine of Siena.* Dublin: Gill & Son. 1890.
15. *The Miraculous Power of the Memorare.* From the French, by Miss ELLA MCMAHON. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

16. *A Rule of Christian Life.* By the Rev. Father RONDINA, S.J. Translated by RICHARD J. WEBB, M.A. London: R. Washbourne. 1889.
17. *Calendar of the Society of Jesus.* New York: Benziger Brothers. 1889.
18. *The Art of Profiting by our Faults.* By the Rev. JOSEPH TISSOT. Translated by Miss ELLA McMAHON. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1889.
19. *All Souls' Forget-me-not.* By LOUIS GEMMINGER. Translated from the German, and Edited by Canon MOSER. London: R. Washbourne. 1890.
20. *Lessons from Our Lady's Life.* By the Author of "The Little Rosary of the Sacred Heart." London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
21. *Golden Words, or Maxims of the Cross.* From the Latin of "Thomas à Kempis." By F. H. HAMILTON, M.A. Fourth Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
22. *Little Breviary of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.* Compiled from the BLESSED MARGARET MARY. Translated by M. HOPPER. London: Burns & Oates.
23. *The Handbook of Humility.* From the Italian of Father FRANCHI, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.
24. *Short Instructions for Low Masses.* By the Rev. JAMES DONOHUE. New York, &c.: F. Pustet. 1889.
25. *The First Communicant's Manual.* By the Rev. D. GALLERY, S.J. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1889.

1. **F**ATHER GOLDIE, who has already published in the "Quarterly Series" "The Life of St. John Berchmans," now gives us that of another Saint of the Society of Jesus, canonised on the memorable 15th of January, 1888. St. Alonso Rodriguez was a lay brother, who passed the greater part of his life in the Jesuit College at Palma, in the island of Majorca. He is not to be confounded with his namesake, Alonso, or Alfonso, Rodriguez, the author of the well-known treatise on "Perfection." There is not much incident in his life, which is full of heroic virtue, stupendous prayer, and striking miracles. Happily, a very full account of his interior has been preserved for us in the writings which, in obedience to his superiors, he put together in his old age. No life of St. Alonso in English existed before Father Goldie undertook the present excellent biography. He has found ample materials, but he has evidently had to work very hard, as no former biographer seems to have taken the trouble to obtain correct dates or to put things in order. He has also given interesting local colour to the history by his sketches of the island of Majorca, and of the town of Palma, as well as of Segovia and Valencia, which are connected with the Saint's early life. An enormous number of names is introduced in the text and in the notes; they are chiefly those of Fathers of the Society, but Father Goldie never loses an opportunity of illustrating his history

by contemporary events. The result is a biographical study of great interest, founded on a wide comparison of original sources, and written in an orderly and lucid style, not without such devotion and piety as the life of a Saint demands.

2. Father Barry, a member of the Redemptorist Order, sends us a "Life of Blessed Margaret Mary," of about 200 pp. It is founded almost wholly on the "Memoir" written by the Saint herself, which it quotes freely. A few citations are made here and there from St. Francis of Sales, St. Theresa, St. John of the Cross, &c., in order to illustrate and justify the narrative. It would have been as well to have given references to these passages; and, indeed, the work would have been more business-like if some at least of the "sources" of Blessed Margaret Mary's biography had been explicitly named. We do not see what authority the writer has for stating that the holy religions had only *three* visions of the Sacred Heart. There seem to have been four—one in 1673, two in 1674, and one in 1675. It would have been useful to have given the "promises" made to her by our Lord in a collected form. We do not see that Father Barry says anything about what is known as the "twelfth promise"—that those who communicated in honour of the Sacred Heart on nine consecutive first Fridays of the month should have the grace of repentance at the hour of death and the sacraments. This promise is undoubtedly found in her writings, and is distinctly mentioned by her first biographer, Mgr. Languet himself. Of course the "promise" is not absolute; Bishop Languet says that, in suggesting it, our Lord "gave her reason to expect" these graces (*en lui faisant espérer*). The book is brought down to date, as it mentions and translates (not quite as accurately as it might have done) the decree of the twenty-eighth of June of last year, by which the Feast of the Sacred Heart is raised to the rank of a first-class double. But why is nothing said of the great privilege, accorded in the same decree, of the Votive Mass on every first Friday in churches where special devotions are practised?

3. Addressed directly to young men, these "Thoughts and Counsels" are written in a free, warm, and eloquent style. They are divided into one hundred and seventy-two heads, each averaging between three and four pages, and they range from the Four Last things, Sin and the Sacraments, to Prayer, Daily Life, and the Continual Presence of God. Every section or heading is full of really solid thought, impressively stated, and backed by Holy Scripture. The book will be useful for priests as well as for the young men to whom it is addressed.

4. Father Wirth, O.S.B., to whom we owe the translation of the work last named, here presents religious with Father Zollner's two "Retreats." They will find them full and clear, all the usual matter being carefully brought in, with good illustrations and pious examples. In the first of the two Retreats (which consist of three days each) the meditations are on the prerogatives of the religious state and the vows. In the second the subject is the perfection of religious.

5. A pleasing book of religious verse, embracing a large number of transcriptions of ordinary prayers, by a well-known writer.

6. Mr. Livesey appropriately dedicates to the Rev. Dr. Graham, of Hammersmith Catholic Training College, a translation of an edifying collection of stories from the Lives of the Saints having special reference to children. Many parents will be pleased to have this book, which is prettily got up.

7. It may be stupidity, but we have read this *brochure* without finding either the name or the local (London) habitation of the Institute which Lady Georgiana Fullerton founded. On referring to the "contents" we find it mentioned that she founded the "Institute of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God;" but the style of the writer is so "allusive" (to use a newspaper coinage) that she never stoops to name it (that we can see) in the narrative. It would have been interesting to have had a list of the foundations. The well-known establishment in the Via San Sebastiano in Rome is, however, particularly mentioned; and a short sketch is given of the life of Lady Georgiana Fullerton. It is not very clear why the pamphlet is called "A Shrine and a Story."

8. Three of the Rev. Father R. J. Clarke's admirable little meditation-books issued by the Catholic Truth Society at a penny each (bound in cloth, 4d. each).

9. Père Binet (the author of "Purgatory Surveyed," translated by the Rev. Father Anderdon, S.J.) wrote in 1639 a little book on St. Joseph. Père Jennesseaux resuscitated the book some twenty-five years ago, correcting, changing, and adding; M. C. G. has translated this edition, and Father Hummelauer, of Ditton Hall, has prefixed a few lines of preface.

10. This is a small controversial manual, in which the chief "notes" of the Catholic Church are proposed in "meditations;" each meditation consisting of passages of Scripture with reasonings, followed by a devout application.

11. Short meditations on the Lord's Prayer; followed by meditations on prayer for every day of the month. The publishers issue the little book in a dainty cover; but there is also a much cheaper get-up.

12. A short and devout account of the holy Shepherdess of Pibrac, canonized by Pope Pius IX. in 1867.

13. A brief sketch of the life of St. Thomas of Aquin, with an appendix giving the rules of the "Angelic Warfare."

14. Short extracts from the words of St. Catherine of Siena, distributed over every day of the year.

15. The first story in this little volume is that of "St. Francis of Sales, in the Church of St. Etienne-des-Grès." It would seem as if the popular devotion to this prayer of St. Bernard dates from the time of St. Francis. Many edifying stories are here collected.

16. Father Rondina, S.J., has written a short account of the edifying life of a young Italian lady, followed by her rule of life. It has been translated by Mr. R. J. Webb, and will be found useful for Children of Mary.

17. Short sketches of the Saints of the Society of Jesus are given in this *brochure*, which forms a standing guide to the services in churches of the Society.

18. This is a solid and useful manual, in which the writer, with great care and fullness, lays down the doctrine of St. Francis of Sales on the ascetic theology of human falls and imperfections. The translation of many passages of the Holy Doctor would have been more satisfactory had it been closer to the original.

19. We owe this useful book of prayers and spiritual reading to the zeal of Canon Moser of Peterborough, who has had it translated from the German. It contains four methods of hearing Mass, Prayers for Confession and Communion, the Rosary—(we are not sure that it is right to omit the Gloria Patri at the end of the Decades, and to substitute "Eternal Rest," &c.)—many Litanies, Meditations on Purgatory, the Office of the Dead, &c.

20. Thirty-one pious considerations on the Blessed Virgin.

21. A new edition of a convenient and pretty reprint of certain chapters of the "Imitation."

22. A devout client of the Sacred Heart has here arranged the sayings of Blessed Margaret Mary and our Lord's words to her, in the form of Offices. There is an appendix containing Prayers and a Litany. The translation is well done.

23. This is a devotional and ascetical, rather than philosophical, handbook on self-contempt. The subject is elaborately worked out.

24. More than fifty ten minutes' instructions are presented in this little book. They are all on practical pastoral matters. The author is a hard-worked priest of the United States, and his words are very solid and useful.

25. Written for a class of first Communicants at Clongowes Wood College, these instructions and prayers are useful for children even on other occasions than that of the first Communion. In the preparation for Confession we should have liked to see the sufferings and passion of our Saviour made more use of as a motive for contrition. In explaining the sacrament of confirmation the writer only describes half of the ceremony.

Among new editions we have "The Life of St. Francis of Assisi," by Miss Lockhart; "The Works of St. Francis of Assisi," translated by a Religious of the Order (both published by Mr. R. Washbourne); "The Kingdom of God," by the Rev. C. McDermott Roe (Burns & Oates); "Our Lady's Month," compiled by J. S. Fletcher (Washbourne); "The Holy Scapular," by the Very Rev. R. J. O'Hanlon (Duffy).

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